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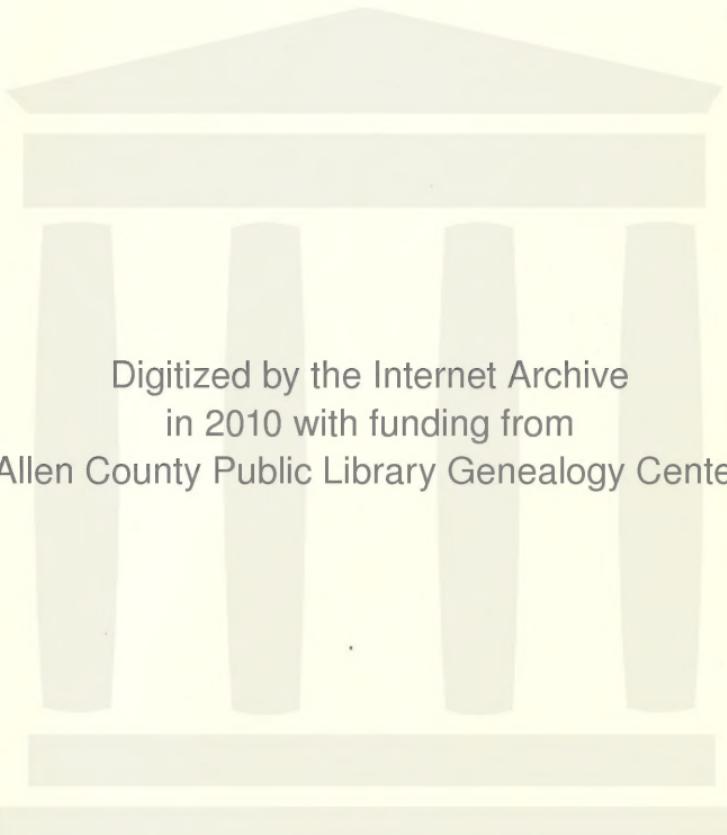


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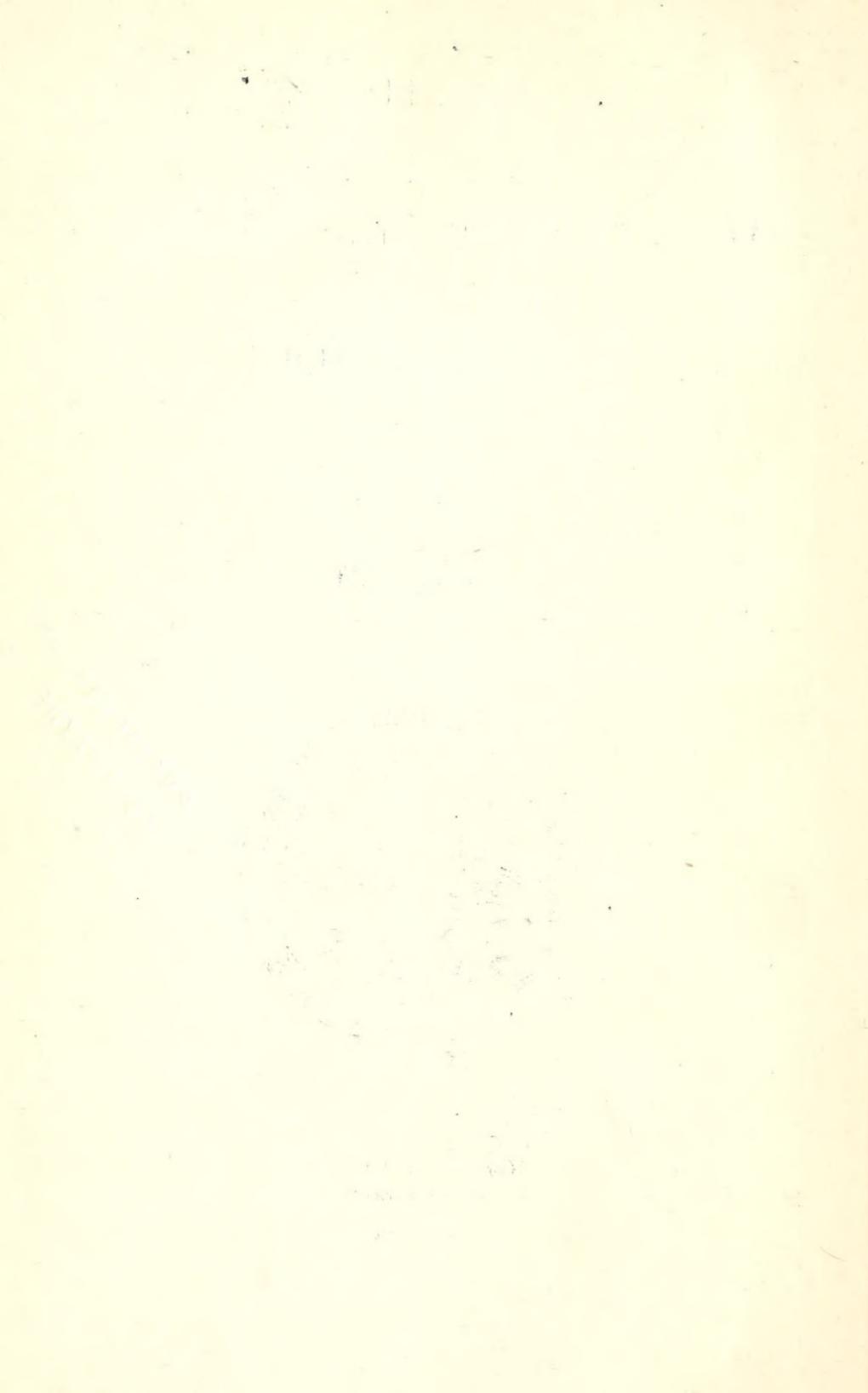
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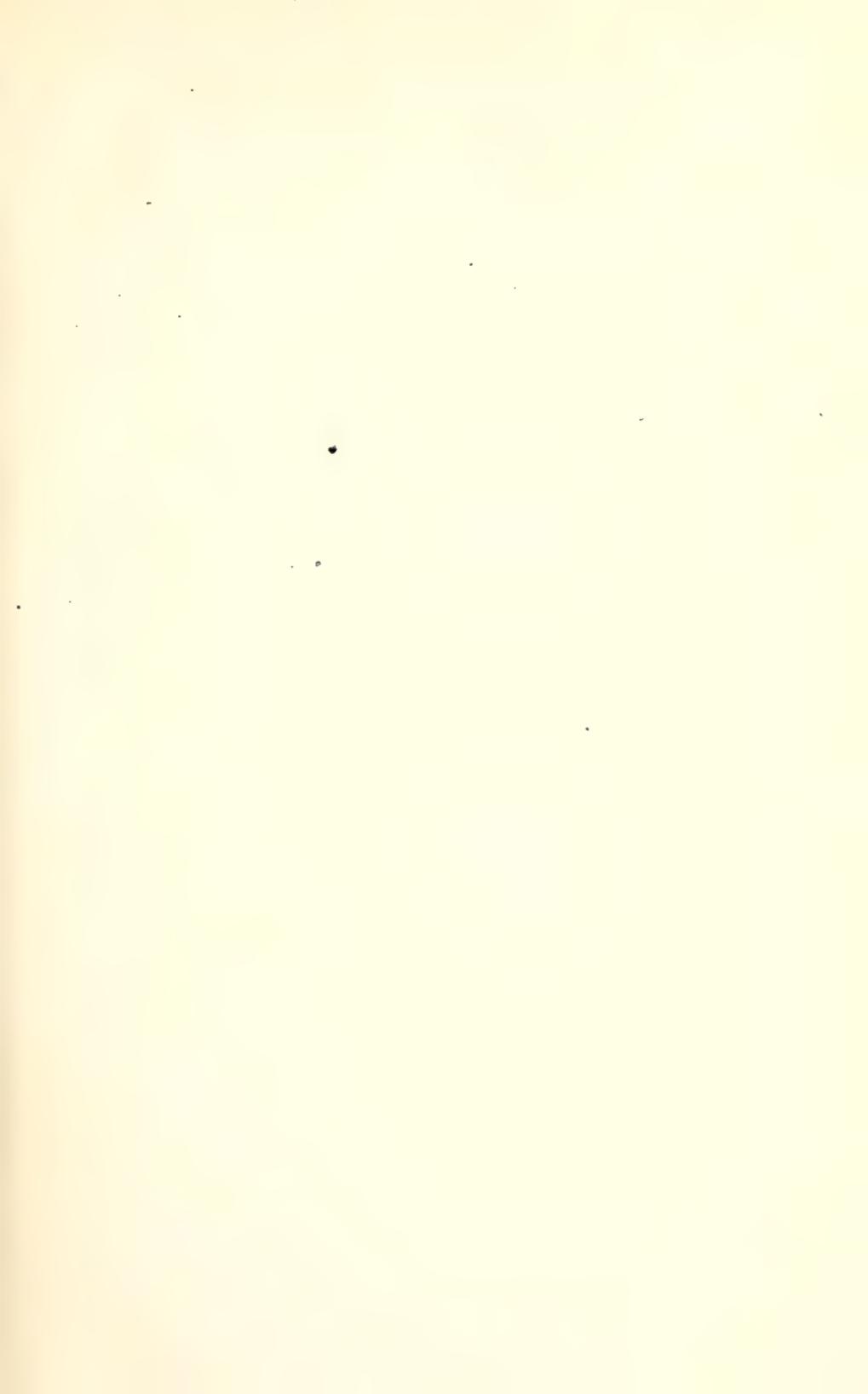
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# OHIO

## Archaeological and Historical QUARTERLY.

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### THE MORAVIAN RECORDS. VOLUME TWO.

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THE DIARIES OF ZEISBERGER RELATING TO THE FIRST MISSIONS  
IN THE OHIO BASIN.

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EDITED BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT AND WILLIAM NATHANIEL  
SCHWARZE.

#### INTRODUCTION.

#### THE MISSIONS OF THE UNITAS FRATRUM.

The ancient church of the Unitas Fratrum, the United Brethren, or Moravians, as they became widely known from their original home-land, was all but utterly destroyed by the persecutions that accompanied the Thirty Years' War. Fleeing their native fields, the Moravians turned to Saxony and Silesia, where greater liberty of conscience was permitted; in the year 1722 emigrants arrived at Berthelsdorf, upper Lusatia, on the estate of the noble Zinzendorf. Here, through the liberality of their new-found protector, the exiles built Hutberg, the colony later receiving the name Herrnhut; this was the first congregation of the renewed church of the United Brethren.\*

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\* Unless specially indicated my sources of information for this chapter are: [Benj. La Trobe] *A Succinct View of The Missions Established Among the Heathen* (London, 1770), G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America* (London, 1794), John Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren* (Dublin, 1818), and John Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians* (Philadelphia, 1820).

In the year 1731 Count Zinzendorf attended the coronation at Copenhagen of Christian VI., King of Denmark. While in the Danish capital the Count's servants became acquainted with a negro from the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies, who expressed the desire of himself and sister to find the way of salvation. This report coming to Zinzendorf revived a hope formerly entertained by him that the Unitas Fratrum would one day be able to send the Gospel message to foreign shores. The enthusiasm of the Brethren knew no bounds. The negro came to Herrnhut from Copenhagen to repeat his story, and, learning that in order to be of genuine service among the West Indies slaves it would be necessary to labor with them, two Brethren offered to go and even to sell themselves into slavery if that were necessary.

Within a short period missionaries were sent out from the six hundred Brethren to St. Thomas and St. Croix, to Greenland, Surinam, Rio De Berbice, North and South America, Lapland, Tartary, Guinea, Africa and India. The heroism shown at New Herrnhut (1733) was reproduced further south in Greenland at Lichtenfels (1758) "Rocks of Light," and Lichtenau (1774) "Meadows of Light."—as it was half a century later in Ohio at Lichtenau on the Muskingum. The Light of the World, through these six hundred exiles in Saxony, was to shine far and wide on rocks and meadows. In far Labrador was founded Hopedale (1752), Nain in United Harbour (1770), Okkak (1775), a second Hopedale (1776). In South America Pilgerhut on the Rio De Berbice was occupied in 1738, Sharon built on the Sarameca in 1747, Ephraim in 1759 and Hoope, on the Corentyn, in 1765, Bambey, "Only Wait," on the Sarameca in 1773, New Bambey on Wana Creek in 1785, Paramaribo in 1767 and Sommelsdyke in 1765. The Danish West Indies were first entered when Dover and Nitschman went to St. Thomas Island in 1732; when Zinzendorf visited the new Herrnhut of the West Indies seven years later he found a worshipping congregation of negroes numbering eight hundred. St. Croix was visited in 1734, resulting in the founding of Friedenthal, Friedenberg and Friedensfield. Brukker lived at Bethany on St. Jan in 1754, and a church was erected in Emmaus in 1778.

In 1737 George Schmidt, pilgrim to the heathen of Africa from little Herrnhut, reached Capetown and erected a mission station 120 miles to the eastward in Bavian's Kloof, "Baboon's Glen". Later abandoned, it was renewed in 1792 and in 1801 the name was changed to Gnadenenthal, "Vale of Grace", indicating the result of the decade of work. A mission was later established in far Gruenkloof — 1700 miles from Capetown behind "the great Nomaqua." Gnadenenthal, "Vale of Grace" beside the Sonderland was typical of Gnadenhütten "Tents of Grace" in both Pennsylvania and Ohio; the spirit of the faithful Moravians was unaltered whatever the clime or nation.

Catharine of Russia in 1764 invited the Unitas Fratrum to establish a mission on the Volga, and five missionaries went thither a year later among the Kalmucks and built *Schoenbrunn* hard by the high road to Persia, two thousand miles from St. Petersburgh. Like Schoenbrunn-on-the-Muskingum, this mission was uprooted by war, but was re-established. In 1815 missionaries were sent out to the far Torgot clan of the Kalmucks — where the demand was so great for the recently translated gospel of St. Matthew that as many as thirty copies were given out in one day.

Other missions were established in Lapland (1734), Guinea (1737), Algiers (1739), Ceylon (1740), Persia (1747), Egypt (1752), Nicobar Islands (1759), and Tobago (1789).

In November, 1734, a number of brethren under the leadership of John Töltschig, Anthony Seiffart and (afterwards) Bishop Spangenberg, left Herrnhut for North America, as the result of Count Zinzendorf's being offered a tract of land by the Trustees of Georgia; the purpose of the Trustees was to have the gospel preached to the neighboring Creeks, Chickasaws and Cherokees. The missionaries arrived at Savannah in 1735 and were soon at work. Unsettled conditions, due to the Spanish activities against the Colony, resulted in the Moravians migrating to Pennsylvania in 1740. The activity of Spangenberg, who had visited Pennsylvania, in arousing interest in the mission to the American Indians determined several devoted men to proceed at once to the great field of work in America. One of these, Christian Henry Rauch, arrived in New

York in July, 1740. The line of least resistance for this notable missionary enterprise was found to be through the early-planted settlements of Germans in Pennsylvania and Dutch on the Hudson in New York. Rauch found in New York City some visiting Mohican Indians\* from western Connecticut; proceeding thither by way of the North River, missions were established at the Indian towns Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch, where several missionaries including Gottlieb Buttner and Martin Mack and others labored for many years.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, became the headquarters of the Moravian Church in the new world. The initial step was taken toward location at this point by the Rev. George Whitfield, who invited the immigrants from Georgia to settle on the Leheigh on a tract of land he had purchased in the expectation of founding here a free school for negro children; he had already laid here the foundation of a stone house and had named the place Nazareth. The Moravians, however, purchased from a Philadelphia gentleman a tract of land to which they gave the name of Bethlehem. In 1743 they also purchased the manor begun by Whitfield and completed the stone building. From this center, as from a city set on a hill, shone out at once a great light through the wilderness to the north and west of unparalleled grandeur. If the nobility of the heroism of the Jesuit and Recollect fathers of Canada could be excelled, that of the Moravian missionaries proceeding from this center had done so; and among the latter role you will find none who sacrificed a tithe of spiritual power for worldly power; not one of them furthered, by a single act or glance, any temporal interest, except only the cause of freedom represented by the Revolutionary struggle which gave birth to our Republic; and today above the staid, quiet streets of our own American Bethlehem "shineth the everlasting light."

Zinzendorf, patron of the missions of the Moravian Church, visited America and in 1742 made three journeys from Bethlehem among the Indians, the first to the Schulkill by way of Clistowacka and Pochapuchkung and returning by Meniolagomekah, the second to Shekomeko and the third to Shamokin on the Sus-

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\* *Moravian Records*, I, 36, 108, 141, or *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Soc. Pub.* XXI (Jan., 1910).

quehanna, returning by way of Otstonwackin and Wajomick. On another occasion he visited Tulpehokin, Berks Co., Penna., with Conrad Weiser and on the journey fell in with an embassy from the Onondaga and Cayuga nations of the Iroquois Confederacy returning from Philadelphia. These invited the Count and his brethren to visit the Iroquois land. In 1741 Christopher Pyrlaeus, a graduate of Leipsic, had arrived in Bethlehem. In 1743, after three months with Conrad Weiser at Tulpehokin studying the Mohawk language he went with his wife "into the interior part of the Iroquois country", writes Loskiel, "and took up his abode with the English missionary in Juntarogu". Here and at other points he acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to conduct in Bethlehem, the year following, a class of missionary candidates for work in the Iroquois land. Frederick Christian Post and David Zeisberger were of this class and in 1745 these secured an opportunity to put their learning to a test by making a journey to the Mohawk Valley; seized by the suspicious English they were taken to Albany, and imprisoned, but were later freed. In 1750 Zeisberger returned to the capital of the Onondaga nation with Bishop Frederick Cammerhof who had come to assist Bishop Spangenberg superintend the American missions; two years previous Cammerhof had gone to Shamokin with a view to seeking an entrance of missionaries into the land of the Six Nations, but did not proceed onward at that time. The route was by way of the Tioaga tributary of the Susquehanna. On June 19th they reached Onondaga on the "river Zinochfoa," Onondaga Creek. Ziesberger served as interpreter as the two journeyed about in the Long House, suffering the abuse of drunken savages, the women worse than the men; permission was secured from the Grand Council "that two Brethren should have leave to live either in Onondaga or some other town to learn their language." Between 1745 and 1750 two Indian mission stations were established in Pennsylvania, Friedenshutten (I) near Bethlehem, and Gnadenhutten, near the junction of Mahony Creek and the Lehigh, tents of peace and grace, such as the brave emissaries of this Church had founded on the other Continents, to which many of the converts from Shekomeko removed thither as the French War disturbed the

New England frontiers. In 1751 Zeisberger and Gottfried Rundt left for Onondaga, conformably to the stipulations agreed upon during the former visit. After a sojourn of some four months, during which time they paid a visit to the Tuscarawas and Cayuga nations, they returned to Bethlehem. Zeisberger returned the year after with Henry Frey and spent six months; he was compelled then to return owing to the war-clouds which filled the sky. Good progress had been made in the work nearer home in these years but the Old French War now brought terror and despondency; the story of these desperate years, when the Iroquois, who were allied with the French cause, threw their raiding parties into Pennsylvania is a pitiful one. Many of the converts flocked to Bethlehem; later the mission town of Nain was established nearby. The brave Post, driven from his work at Wyoming and awaiting opportunity for future service at Bethlehem, now went on his peace missions to Fort Pitt for the government of Pennsylvania, and achieved signal success.

Upon the cessation of hostilities in 1763 Zeisberger visited Machiwihilusing on the Susquehanna and later took up his abode there as resident missionary, but was recalled on the outbreak of Pontiac's Rebellion. Another period of suffering and horror ensued, lasting until Bouquet put an end to the last flickering flame of rebellion. With returning peace the important mission station of Friedenshutten (II) was established on the Susquehanna opposite the mouth of Sugar Run and the work at large was once more renewed. In 1766 Zeisberger again went into the Iroquois land at the invitation of a Cayuga chieftain. To settle a dispute which had arisen Zeisberger returned to Bethlehem for instructions and was promptly sent to Onondaga for information, arriving there October 26th, where the misunderstandings (relating to the settlement of Friedenshutten) were satisfactorily explained and the missionary returned. "In this year" writes Loskiel, "a solemn embassy arrived in Friedenshutten, sent by the Delawares in Goschgoschuenk on the Ohio [Allegheny], the Delamattennoos\* and Gachpas†, for themselves and thirteen other nations. They proceeded by way of Zeninge to Onondaga, and thence home again. Their view was to es-

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\* Wyandots. † Probably Iroquois.

tablish a general peace among all the Indian nations". Possibly it was from this source‡ that a call came to the Brethren to send a missionary to Goschgoschuenk, a Monsey town at the junction of Tionesta Creek and the Allegheny in Venango Co., Penna. This journey which Zeisberger now made in answer to the summons marks the entrance of the Moravian missionaries into the trans-Allegheny country, marking a new epoch in the great work of evangelization fostered by this noble Church. The Allegheny proved but a stepping-stone into the Ohio Basin, and in Ohio was the largest success, from many points of view, achieved.

This birds-eye view of the almost unparalleled record of missionary endeavor on three continents, however meagre, is necessary to give the reader a little knowledge of the circumstances under which the Moravians came to be a prominent factor in the history of the Middle West. The interested reader will find in the formal histories of the Moravian Church the details of this great missionary story. As the succeeding Records appear the advance of the movement will be indicated, as the diaries, journals and reports carry us onward into Ohio, Indiana and Canada.

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT.

Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio, Apr. 14, 1911.

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‡ See *Notes* 55, 59.

DIARY OF DAVID ZEISBERGER'S JOURNEY TO THE OHIO,  
CALLED IN DELAWARE THE ALLEGENE, FROM SEPT.  
20th TO NOV. 16th, 1767.

[The first movement of the Moravian missionaries toward "Ohio," as the trans-Allegheny region was generally known in the middle of the eighteenth century, was David Zeisberger's visit to the Monsey town at the mouth of Tionesta Creek on the Allegheny River in 1767. This journey paved the way for the advance to the Muskingum River five years later, when Ohio proper became the scene of the greatest missionary endeavor among the American Indians attempted in the United States by any Protestant church authorities in that century. As the accompanying notes show, the interpretations of the record which is now published in full for the first time, are drawn largely from the Pennsylvania *Archives and Records*, De Schweinitz's invaluable *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, the various histories of the Moravian missions, heretofore noted, and Charles A. Hanna's monumental reference work *The Wilderness Trail*. The reader will recall that the bloody days in the Allegheny Valley of Pontiac's Rebellion were but just passed, and will do well to review that story as told in Parkman's works. It should be stated that the titles of these manuscripts were not given to them by the authors but by those at Bethlehem into whose hands they came for circulating and filing in the Archives. To these titles, given by Church officers, we adhere throughout. Notes concerning persons, places, etc., mentioned more than once are often given in the first instance only; the index will always direct the reader to the explanations and interpretations of any proper name.]

Report having come a year ago, though of somewhat untrustworthy nature, that there were along the Ohio<sup>1</sup> Indians desirous of hearing the Gospel, it was thought proper, in view of the fact that the Moravians are not very well known in that region, to arrange for a tour of investigation, in order to learn whether anything could be done there. Hence it came about that on September 20th I started on a journey thither, in company with the Brethren John Bonn<sup>2</sup> and David Zeisberger<sup>3</sup>. In the evening of that day we reached the second range of the Blue Mountains, called the Wolf Range<sup>4</sup>, where we spent the night. On the 21st we traversed the Great Swamp<sup>5</sup> and reached the Susquehannah on the 22nd, where we met with Br. Marcus<sup>6</sup> from Friedenshutten<sup>7</sup>. In his company I journeyed up the Susquehannah on the morning of the 23rd, John Bonn and David Zeis-

berger returning. I reached Friedenshuetten on the 24th. Br. Anton<sup>8</sup>, who was the first to see me as I entered the town, greeted me very cordially, as did all the other inhabitants of the place.

I found Brother and Sister Schmuck<sup>9</sup> very well, and we were very happy to be able to see each other. On the 25th Br. Schmuck and I had an interview with Anton concerning my tour of investigation, since he had previously intimated that he would be glad to accompany me on a trip in that direction: Accordingly, I asked him whether he were still so minded. He immediately answered, "Kehella" (Yes, it is so). He was not only willing but glad to undertake such a journey, and he, also, told us that John<sup>10</sup> would be very glad to go along, if he were asked to do so. We summoned John and asked him concerning the matter. He declared that he had long cherished the desire to do something for the Saviour, if only the Brethren would send him. Both men were at the time engaged in house-building<sup>11</sup> and their corn was ready to be harvested, but they would suffer neither the one thing nor the other to keep them back. When the other members of the Indian congregation heard that these men were to undertake this journey, they helped them not only to build their houses but, also, to garner in their corn. In the evening Conference was notified of the arrangements, and all rejoiced in the hope that some good for the Lord's Kingdom might result therefrom. I have indeed witnessed that our Indian converts are very willing to lend a hand when something is to be done in the service of the Saviour, and they do whatever is in their power for the good of their nation. From the 26th to the 29th I found much pleasure in visiting the Indians in their dwellings. Many were engaged in building log-houses. They build very neat houses of hewn timber, with chimneys and glass windows, and fit them up very tastefully. At the present time, there are over forty houses here. It is unfortunate that there is no proper pasturage near the settlement, for the Indians have their cattle, hogs and horses. This will probably compel them to start another settlement along the Susquehannah. They have excellent land for corn and other plantation purposes, but they are sadly in need of pasturage and hay-fields, because their herds

increase each year, and the chase yields less year by year to supply material for the most necessary clothing, which is little enough.<sup>12</sup>

We wished to start on the 29th, but a steady rain forced us to give up the plan. On the 30th we were able to leave Friedens-huetten and came late in the evening, wet through because of continued rain, to the house of an Indian named Sind, with whom we spent the night. His wife is a Mohican. We taught them concerning the Saviour and His love for the children of men. On the 1st of October we crossed the Susquehannah and reached Tschechschequaning<sup>13</sup>, where we met the Monsy [Monsey] Chief, Echgolund, who could tell us nothing but evil of the Ohio and declared that the people there lived wretchedly and did nothing but drink to excess. Anton thought that the chief spoke thus, because in his opinion there were enough Indians along the Susquehannah to whom we could preach (for we had informed him of the purpose of our journey) and it would not be necessary for us to make so long a tour.

Inasmuch as the men of the place were all away, engaged in the chase, and there were only the women at home, I saw that there was nothing for us to do here and we continued our journey, passing Diaogu<sup>14</sup> and coming in the afternoon, after we had crossed the Tiaogu,<sup>15</sup> to several Tutelar huts<sup>16</sup> where we stopped. They gave us something to eat, having shot many deer and bear and being occupied in preparing a feast. We went on, meeting many Indians from Wilawane<sup>17</sup> who had been invited to the feast, arriving in that village in the evening. This is a new town of the Monsey Indians who moved hither last spring from Cayuga Lake.<sup>18</sup> Finding but very few people at home — some old people and a blind man whom we instructed concerning the Saviour — we continued our journey on the 2nd of October up the Tiaogu, going through many flats where the grass and weeds were so high as to reach above a man on horse-back, and our clothing, in consequence, became thoroughly wet. In the afternoon we passed Wenschikochpiechen<sup>19</sup>, a beautiful location for a settlement. For the first time since our leaving Friedenshuetten we spent the night in the woods. On the 3rd we passed, early in the morning, through the so-called great Flat,<sup>20</sup> about three

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miles long lying along the Tiaogu, and were again subjected to a thorough wetting. At noon we reached Assinissingk,<sup>21</sup> where the famous Monsey Chief, Jachcapus,<sup>22</sup> had lived, who had burned the settlement on the Mahoni,<sup>23</sup> whose town was afterward plundered and burned by the Mohawks, he himself being taken prisoner, and who later lost his life in the late war.

Here there are curiosities to be seen, namely, pyramids of stone that seem to have been built by hand of man.<sup>24</sup> Hence, the name of the place. The pyramids are of various sizes and forms. Some are round, others oval, still others have sharp corners. The largest are two or three stories high and built up to a very sharp point. On the apex of most there seems to lie a flat stone, as if put there to keep out the rain. The pyramids rise perpendicularly from a very steep mountain.<sup>25</sup> They appear as though built up of stones and clay, though they are not as smooth as a wall. It seems to me that they are formed of rock, seamed with veins, which can easily be taken apart because there is clay in all of the veins. The stones are soft, as though they were in a state of decomposition. Upon being broken open they are seen to be hard within and are of a dark blue color. Whether these pyramids are natural formations or have been reared by human hands I leave to others to determine. The Indians whom I asked about the matter had no information to give.<sup>26</sup>

At this place the Tiaogu divides, one branch extending northward into the land of the Senecas, the other westward. We proceeded along the latter. We passed Gachtochwawunok<sup>27</sup> and Noapassisqu,<sup>28</sup> two old Indian towns, going over very wild and rugged road, and spent the night on the bank of the west branch of the Tiaogu. It rained on the 4th, yet we continued our journey, finding it difficult to keep to the trail, because often it could not be distinguished. In the evening we had lost it altogether, so that we did not know how to proceed, for Anton and John did not know this region. We, therefore, pitched camp. John walked, the same evening, some distance into the woods, toward the north, to look for the trail. During the night, he returned with the good news that he had found it again.<sup>29</sup> On the 5th we met an Indian with two squaws, who had come from Goschgoschingk<sup>30</sup> and this was the eleventh day since they had

set out. We realized, then, that we had a longer road before us than we had thought. We were indeed, glad to have met in this wilderness a human being from whom it was possible to learn something concerning the road, for my Indian brethren did not know this country. Toward evening we passed again through a flat and we spent the night on the bank of the west branch of the Tiaogu. During the forenoon of the 6th we reached Pasigachkunk,<sup>31</sup> an old deserted Indian town, and the last on the Tiaogu, where, in course of the last war, Post was stopped on his journey to the Ohio and obliged to return, because the Indians would not allow him to pass.<sup>32</sup> Up to this point it would be possible to travel by water on the Tiagu. Proceeding from this place, we struck the wrong trail. When we found that we were going too far to the south, John went northward through the woods in search of another trail. Presently, he found one, which we thought would take us in the right direction. We soon left the Tiaogu altogether and, crossing a height whence the Tiaogu springs, came into the great Swamp,<sup>33</sup> in which we were obliged to travel until it was pitch dark before we found water. We had heavy rain. It is interesting that upon this ridge, as I have several times observed to be the case farther north, all land-rains come from the west and north-west, and rarely from the east as is the case in Pennsylvania. Cause for this I take to be not the ocean to the west of America but the Great Lakes to the west and north-west.<sup>34</sup>

On the 7th it continued raining, nevertheless we started out and crossed the so-called Zoneschio Creek,<sup>35</sup> which runs into the land of the Senecas, where I had formerly been with Br. Cammerhof,<sup>36</sup> and thence empties into Lake Ontario. We pushed on again until late at night, but found no water. We pitched camp. John went a long distance in search of water, finally returning with a kettle full, so that we were able to quench our thirst. On the 8th, after crossing some rising ground, we came to the source of the Ohio, which at that place has no greater volume than the spring at Christianspring.<sup>37</sup> Here, to my great delight, I saw for the first time a pine forest in America. The two Indians with me did not know what kind of wood it was, for they had never seen the like.<sup>38</sup> They had much trouble today

in keeping the trail because in places there is for several miles no visible trace of its having been followed by man. Occasionay, we came upon elk tracks (this is a kind of deer that is found in Europe also) which have the appearance of a trail.<sup>39</sup> We were misled by them into a terrible wilderness, so that it was necessary to retrace our steps and stop until John had had an opportunity to go through the woods and find the right trail. We covered a considerable distance today and were very tired, as both yesterday and today we had been obliged to work our way through the wildest and densest woods imaginable (even the two Indians, who are accustomed to the forest, were surprised at the character of this wilderness) coming in the evening to the bank of the Ohio, where the stream is already twice as broad as the Manakosy,<sup>40</sup> at Bethlehem, and where it is possible to use the canoe. It seems that here, also, the Indians are accustomed to make canoes to go down stream, for there was evidence that both bark canoes and wood canoes had been made.<sup>41</sup> The most convenient way from Wyoming, therefore, would be by water to Passiquachkunk, then two days journey over land to the Ohio, where canoes could be made for the trip down stream. On the 9th we traveled down the Ohio, with the shream to our left. This evening we came out of this very dense swamp, in which we had marced four days and which is incomparably wild. It rained during the night. We came upon the first hut in the forest, in which we spent the night, having been obliged thus far to sleep in the open. On the 10th at noon we arrived in a Seneca town,<sup>42</sup> having the comfort of traveling on good road. The people invited us to stop, which we did, and they gave us food. I expected to be put through an examination, because I am quite unknown in this region. The right parties for this, however, were not at home, only the younger people who were very friendly. But as we were about to go further a Seneca Indian mounted his horse and rode swiftly, this very day, into the next town, which is at least thirty miles from here. I could, therefore, conclude that I should not be allowed to go on without question.<sup>43</sup>

At noon on the 11th we reached the next town, Tiozinosson-gochta.<sup>44</sup> A Seneca of respectable appearance stood before his

house (afterwards I learned that it was the chief) and we went directly toward him. I greeted him in a friendly manner, but he preserved a serious mien. Food was brought out for my two Indian companions, while I was called into the house and served there. The Indian sat down beside me and began to question me as to whence I had come and whither I was going. I told him that I wished to go to Goschgosching to visit the Indians there. He asked whether that were all. I answered, "Yes, that is it and nothing else." He was silent for a while, then he began again, saying, "but how comes it that you travel such an unfrequented road, which is no road for whites and on which no white man has ever come?" I replied that my business among the Indians was very different from that of other whites and that, therefore, my mode of travel was of peculiar character, since I came not for trade, or exchange, or of personal gain, but only in order to tell the Indians great and good words. "What kind of words are these?" said he, "I would like to know them also." I said, "I come to tell them words of life, how they may believe in God and be saved. Are not these good words?" "No," said he, "that is not for the Indians." "How so?" said I, "do you not regard the Indians as human beings? shall they not be saved? shall they be lost? and how shall they be saved if they hear nothing of the Redeemer?" He answered, "Yes, indeed, the Indians are men, even as are the whites, but God has created them differently, he has given them game for food, this they must hunt in the wilderness, wherever they can find it, that is their calling; but of the Scriptures they know nothing, for these He has not given them, they could not learn them, as they are too difficult for them. To the white He has given the Scriptures, and yet there are both among the Indians and the whites bad people, who live in sin. How is that? Tell me, in what respect are the whites better than the Indians, though they know the Scriptures?" I said to him, "It is true that the Indians must support themselves by the chase, for such is their manner of life. They know nothing of the Scriptures nor of God's word, and how they are to come to Him and be saved. Therefore, these things must be made known to them for they are intended not only for the whites but for the Indians

as well; they, also, must know them, and herein is the purpose of my journey. I will not preach to them that they must learn the Scriptures, that would be difficult for them, especially for the old people (the young people might yet learn them and it would be a good thing were they to do so), I will say to them that they ought to believe in God and learn to know Him, that is the main thing and not too difficult for them." He said, "How can one learn to know Him, as no one has seen Him, I have never heard that anyone has seen Him."<sup>45</sup> I said, "No one can see Him, but we shall see Him some time, when I do not know, but it is certain that we shall see Him. Whoever believes in Him feels Him in his heart, thus one learns to know Him. That there are among whites as well as among Indians those who live in sin is due to the fact that they do not believe in God, although the former know the Scriptures." I further asked him, "You surely believe that there is a god, who has created heaven and earth and men?" He said that he did. "But have you ever heard," said I, "that the Creator of heaven and earth came to the world and became a man like as we are, that He hung upon the cross, shed His blood, died upon the cross, was buried, rose again on the third day and then ascended to heaven? Consider that our God and Creator has shed His blood and died on the cross. What can be the reason for this and why has He done so?" He thought a while and then answered, "That I have never heard, and if what you say is true then the Indians are certainly not guilty of His death, as the whites are." I answered him, "All people on the whole earth, white, black and brown, are the cause of these things. For after men were created they did not remain as they were but fell into sin through disobedience, and Satan has secured power over men, that they must be the servants of sin; on this account God was obliged to come from heaven, to become a man and shed His blood. Thereby He has delivered us from the power of Satan, so that now all who believe in Him shall not perish but have everlasting life." "See," said I, "these are the words which I have to say to the Indians. Do you think the Indians have been created for no other reason than that they should chase deer, bear and other game in the forest? Surely, they have been created for a nobler purpose,

and, believe me, that it is God's will and good pleasure that they shall be saved." Thereupon he asked me, what I should do, if the Indians in Goschgosching would receive my words, whether I should remain there? I said to him, "For the present I would hardly remain there, for I only came to find out whether they had ears to hear, and if I learned that they heard gladly, I should probably return in a year's time." Then he asked for my name and when I gave him my Indian name, he looked at me and smiled, called me his brother and said, that though he had not seen me he knew my name and was glad that he had spoken with me; for when he had received word the evening before that a white man had come that way, he had thought much over the matter and concluded that I had come to look at this land and region, to learn about it, to make a survey of it and take the sketch to the whites.<sup>46</sup> Hence, he was glad to have learned of my purpose and desired that I should not be surprised at his having spoken so harshly with me at first. He told me, further, that he believed that I should accomplish something among the Indians at Goschgosching, because there was nothing but sorcery among them, as indeed, among all the Delawares, and if they were not well disposed toward someone, they did something to him so that he died in a few days. He gave me several examples of this supposed to have been based on fact, and said, "If anyone were a good hunter and secured many deer, he might be envied by another and something would be done to him so that he would become blind in a few days." Thereof I should see examples, and I should think of his words when I got to their land. Again, if anyone wished to marry a woman and she refused, the woman would have to reflect that she might be dead in a day or two. He declared that there were many such sorcerers among the Delawares, and even if one should think that one were dealing with an honest man one would not dare to trust him for fear of losing life through witchcraft;<sup>47</sup> he wished, therefore, to warn me that I might have some such experience. I told him that I was not afraid of them, for they would not be able to do anything to me, without the will of the God in whom I believed. The more necessary, also, was it that they should hear of the Saviour, and if they learned to believe in the Saviour they would give up their

evil works. "Yes," he said, "they will probably say with the mouth that they believe but in their hearts hold to their sorcery, for this they will not give up. Among the Senecas there are, also, sorcerers, but not so many." I said, "So you, also, have such people among you; I had always heard that they were not tolerated among the Six Nations, then you need to hear of the Saviour as much as do the Delawares." At parting I said to him that I had spoken with him of many things and knew that he would not remember all that I had told him, one word, therefore, I wished to repeat, in order that he might not forget it, namely, that our God and Creator had come from heaven and become a man and had shed His blood for us. Of this he should frequently think and he would find that it would touch his heart. He promised so to do. After I had talked with him two hours so that my Indian companions outside were wondering, I parted from him in a friendly manner, and we continued our journey. The chief's wife had listened to our whole conversation and had been very attentive; all the time that I spoke she did not take her eye from me.<sup>48</sup>

On the morning of the 12th, it rained and during the remainder of the day, continuing until midnight, there was a heavy fall of snow. The snow-storm came from the north-west and was the first of the season. During the whole of this journey we were generally obliged to spend the night out in the open and to cover ourselves with our blankets as well as we could. On this occasion we had a very rough, cold, uneven couch, in a place where there seemed to be nothing but rocks. On the morning of the 13th we came to another Seneca town.<sup>49</sup> Here I met two Onondaga Indians, namely, the brother of the speaker in Onondaga and another who had seen me in Onondaga a year ago and knew me.<sup>50</sup> The former asked us to sit down at his fire and served us with meat. Soon the men of the town gathered about us, they were very friendly and had no objection to offer to my journey. I was obliged, however, to submit to an entertainment that was not so pleasant for me. They all pressed me to remain with them for the day, in order to partake of a feast they were preparing for the whole town. I wished to decline the

honor and said to them that I was anxious not to lose any time, the winter being near and there being already so heavy a fall of snow that I feared being snowed in. But they insisted that I should remain with them, because it was the first time I had come into their town. I was obliged to yield, therefore, doing them a favor instead of their doing me one. We were, accordingly, brought into the great house and given quarters there. Two great kettles of meat were immediately hung over the fire and the Indians of the town came in. They discussed and inquired about various matters, amongst the rest, the report that Sir William Johnson was displeased with the Six Nations because they were going to war against the Cherokees.<sup>51</sup> They had heard of it and wondered whether I knew anything about it. I replied that I had heard nothing of the matter, but that the report was very probably true, because I knew that the governors did not like it that they should wage war against the Indians of the south. I, further, stated that I regarded it as their best policy to put an end to their wars and live in peace and tranquility. In the meantime, the food had been prepared. All dressed and painted themselves in honor of the feast. The repast proceeded in a quiet and orderly manner. So soon as the food had been consumed they hung fresh meat over the fire, for they had about six deer to consume. With the approach of night they prepared for the dance, which might seem very terrible to one not accustomed to the like. They stripped themselves of all their clothing except the strowds girt about their loins and painted both body and face. As soon as singing and the beating of the drum—composed of a small tub with a deer-skin stretched across began, they all went out, only to return shortly in terrible fury, armed with clubs and tomahawks (hatchets), dancing and leaping so that the earth trembled and the house was filled with dust and ashes. The food that was being prepared, meat and soup, was, in consequence, thoroughly spiced with ashes. Though they were stripped, they sweat like horses and were obliged now and then to go out and cool off. They went through all the exercises of the war dance and, this over, began the singing of hero-songs, the drum beating time, in which they celebrated all their heroic deeds, including the claim that they had sometimes de-

feated the English. When they saw that I wished to rest, they asked me whether I wished to sleep. I answered, "Yes." Then they brought the ceremonies to a close with another meal, after which each one retired quietly to his own house. Thereupon, I read the daily texts to my two companions by the firelight, and we spent the remainder of the night in undisturbed slumber.<sup>52</sup>

With the break of day on the 14th we continued our journey down along the Ohio, which here runs through a mountainous region. Thus far we had not come upon any mountains on our journey, but here they began and the further down stream we went the higher they became. In places it was difficult to proceed, particularly with horses, because it was necessary, in order to skirt the mountains, to go very close to the edge of the river-bank. The river runs in a west-south-westerly direction, so far as I have followed it. Today we passed through the first flat in this region, having thus far traversed only swampy ground.

On the 15th we should, according to all information we had from the Indians, have reached Goschgosching by noon. After we had proceeded briskly up to two o'clock in the afternoon and then come to a cross-road, we became aware that we had gone wrong. We did not know what direction to follow, for here we had no knowledge of the country, and none of us knew where Goschgosching lay. After some reflection and consideration of the course we had taken during the day, from which we concluded that we had gone too far to the right and thus passed the place we wished to reach, we agreed to take the cross-road to the left, the course of which appeared to be southeast, and marched until evening without knowing where we were. This morning we had consumed all the provisions we had taken with us, thinking to be at our journey's end in a few hours. That expectation not having been realized, we were obliged to lie down to rest hungry as we were, having gone all day without food and pushed our way through wild forest on an unbeatened trail — later we learned that it was an old warriors' trail leading to Venango, now no longer used.<sup>53</sup>

It seemed as though on the morning of the 16th we should be obliged to leave camp hungry, but a breakfast was providentially provided, for at break of day a flock of wild turkeys came

flying and settled down on the trees about us. Anton shot one of them. We plucked it at once and found that its skin was nowhere pierced. He had missed and the fowl had fallen so that the dog could catch it. After thankfully consuming it, we proceeded and in the early forenoon, rather sooner than we expected, got out of the mountains, so that we were able to see the Ohio again and Goschgoschingk<sup>54</sup> at no great distance before us. We were very thankful. We found that we had gone twenty miles out of our way and had nearly covered half the way to Venango, formerly a French fort.

We were heartily welcomed in the town and given a lodging in the house of one who was a close friend of John.<sup>55</sup> The Ohio is here already more than twice as broad as the Delaware at Eastown<sup>56</sup> and is a beautiful stream, navigable for canoes and boats. Goschgosching consists of three towns. We had arrived at the middle one, another lies two miles up the river and the third four miles down the river. Before the day was out I announced through Anton and John that I had come hither for no other purpose than to visit them and asked them to assemble the inhabitants of the three towns, for I had words to communicate to them.

Accordingly, messengers were sent out on horseback to invite the Indians. As it was rather late, the Indians of the lower town were unable to come on this day. Those of the other two towns, however, met in the largest house in the place. Many of the Indians knew me, even though I did not know them, for they had formerly been at my meetings, when at the beginning of the last war I had visited Wichilusing, which now bears the name Friedenshuetten. They themselves, therefore, brought the company to order, seating the men on one side and the women on the other. These three towns were founded only two years ago last spring. All the inhabitants are Monsy or Minissingk Indians, who on account of the last war moved hither from Wihilusing on the Susquehannah as well as from Assinissingk and Passigachgungk on the Tiaogu. When all had gathered, I addressed them in the following manner: "The reason for our coming to you is no other than to bring you the great words and good news of our God and Creator, how you may come to

Him and be saved, if you will believe on the One who offered His life and gave His blood for you. We have brought the message of Jesus' death and the shedding of His blood to your friends who dwell at Friedenshuettten. They have received it and are now happy and thankful, because the Saviour has brought them out of darkness into His light. We bring you, therefore, the peace of God. The time has come, God, our Creator, who died for us and gave His blood in our behalf, would visit you. You shall no longer remain in darkness without Him but shall know Him. Think not in your hearts, this is not for us, we have not been created to this end, for He has died for you as well as for other men and has secured for you eternal life through His blood." I was happy to be among these people and found joy in proclaiming to them the good news of the Saviour. I felt that the word had found entrance into their hearts. When I had finished, my companions began, explaining further the meaning of the words. They spoke out of full hearts and boldly witnessed for the Saviour, until late at night.<sup>57</sup> The house was quite full of people, all were attentive and conducted themselves in a quiet and orderly manner. On the 17th there was a large gathering of the people of the three towns. While many are at this time hunting, most of the old people are at home. I met, also, Benjamin, the Mohican, son of Michael, in this place. He has become rather wild. Among those who came to the meeting there were various respectable personages, one an Indian preacher.<sup>58</sup> All gave us the hand, greeted and welcomed us in a friendly manner and signified their pleasure at our visit. During the meeting they paid the strictest attention, as though they would catch the words from one's very lips. I had the heart to speak to them earnestly about the Saviour's love to the children of men, to the Indians amongst the rest. They did not leave after the sermon, and Anton continued the speaking. When he finished John began, then I spoke again and thus it continued until evening, when they wished to hear another sermon, although they had been spoken to all the day. I acceded to their request and then they went to their homes. Those, however, who live in the town here gathered again in our house during the evening and Anton told them more of the Saviour, con-

tinuing until ten o'clock. A blind chief and his wife, the father and mother of our Rebecca in Friedenshuettten, showed us particular affection.<sup>59</sup> Various of the older people, who had been with us during the day, declared after the sermon, "Yes, it is indeed as we have heard that is the right way of salvation." Another said to us, "It is very good that you have come, you tell us now beautiful words concerning the Saviour, but when you are gone who will tell us anything? Then we shall hear nothing and yet we need it so sadly." I replied, "If you are anxious to hear about the Saviour, we will visit you again and not neglect you."

During the morning of the 18th, after the day of meetings, the Indian preacher came to us and asked that I should answer two questions, namely, whether there were not two ways of salvation and which might be the right one. I answered, "There is but one way and upon this all must go, of whatever nation or color they might be. The way to life in the Saviour Himself, and without Him none can be saved; we must all come to Him as poor, lost sinners, seeking grace and pardon from Him. Whoever looks for another way will perish." For the time being he seemed to be satisfied with my answer and could say nothing against it. I noticed, however, that there was something on his mind, that he wished to become more confidential but did not quite trust to do so. He neglects none of the opportunities afforded by the meetings, seems to be glad to be with us and asks many questions, for he would like to learn many things. He exhorts the other Indians to come regularly to the meetings, tells them he is glad to hear about the Saviour and that he would like to be saved. Formerly, he lived in Assinissink, and at one time he came to hear a sermon that I preached in Wihilusing, on which occasion he heard that all men are sinners. At that time he said that he was no sinner but a righteous man. I was very friendly toward him and spoke more to him than to any of the other Indians about the Saviour, because he was always about us.<sup>60</sup>

A difficulty that we have to contend with here is that the people are scattered, but the nature of this region is such that not many could dwell together in one place. There is, further-

more, little harmony among them. Each one lives for himself. There is no one who makes the preservation of order his particular business, as is customary in other Indian towns. The chiefs appear to exercise little authority.<sup>61</sup> The Indian preacher had asked the Indians of the three towns to meet here on the 19th, as on this day he, also, wished to preach. When they had gathered I went in and preached first. He sat down next to Anton, with the intention of beginning when I had finished. But he was disappointed, for when I had concluded Anton and John began to speak in turn, continuing until late in the afternoon, so that he forgot to preach. The people are very eager to hear about the Saviour. They relish the message concerning the death and sacrifice of the Redeemer, though it is new teaching to them. It is with them as it is with all the Indians at the beginning, they hear the word, can understand and comprehend but little of it, yet they always ask to be taught more. They cannot understand until spiritually roused, then their understanding is cleared and they are able to receive what is taught them.

After the large gathering had been dismissed, a small company met again in our house, among them the blind chief and his wife, the parents of Rebecca. It was a matter of peculiar satisfaction to speak further to these people, for they were respectable and it was evident that they had been touched by the message. At parting, they expressed their gratitude for having heard such good words, the blind chief being particularly thankful. There are those here, too, who do not willingly listen, but they can say nothing in opposition. The younger element continues the heathen practices, going every evening to the dance. None of the older people remonstrate, as the younger will pay no attention.<sup>61</sup> Yet there are among the latter some of better character who make good use of every opportunity to hear what is said of the Saviour. On the 21st after the early service we had many visitors; our house was full of men and women all day long. The blind chief spent the whole day with us, speaking very freely about himself. He told us that he had long considered, without saying a word to anyone, how it would be possible for him to get to Friedenshuetten. It seemed to him

that he could no longer remain in this place, because he had so little opportunity to hear the gospel message and the Indians in these parts were so wicked. Yet it would be very difficult for him to get away because of his blindness. I comforted him and exhorted him to prayer, telling him that even if it should not prove possible for him to remove to Friedenshuetten, there might in future be more opportunity to hear the gospel message more frequently. I said to him, further, that though he was outwardly blind he might notwithstanding see and know the Saviour. He answered that this was his desire. When his daughter appeared in the evening to take him home, he said that he wished to remain longer and hear more. When Anton told him that it was already late and very nearly midnight, he was greatly surprised, for he thought that it was still day. He, as well as others who had visited us during the day, had much to say in regard to there being none to tell them of the Saviour after we should have left them. I replied that I wished to speak to them about this matter before I left. To Anton I intimated that if he would remain with me we might spend the winter with the people in this place. He could not well do so on account of his wife and children, and for that reason I did not feel like urging the plan upon him. One cannot but be sorry for these people, for it is hard to tell into what hands they may be delivered after our departure. The preachers among the Indians, who have appeared only within recent years, and the doctors and the sorcerers are the apostles of Satan, who are desirous that the Indians shall be kept in their darkness and conducted deeper into it.

I will mention a few things about these preachers, the one who is here with us as well as the rest, for they are all men of the same stamp. They employ every means to augment their authority and invent all manner of lies, asserting, for example, that they had had a vision of God or, indeed, had seen him, spoken with him and received revelation from him. They pretend to know everything, even future things. They may claim to have met with a stag on the chase, which, when they were about to shoot it, began to address the hunter, telling him that it had something of importance to say. The Indians are told that they ought not to have so much to do with the whites

but cherish their own customs and not imitate the manners of the whites, else it would not go well with them. At another time they will declare that they had a revelation from God to the effect that on a neighboring mountain there lay a heap of corn, and to have found it to be so on investigation. In the same manner, they declare that they have found corn, though every one knows that none has ever been raised in this region. Through such misrepresentations they seek to accredit themselves among the people. In their sermons they endeavor to preach what the Indians would like to hear. They say, for example, that there are two ways to God, one for the whites and one for the Indians. Thus it is easy for them to rid themselves of the teaching of the whites. When Indians die, these men say that they enter the first heaven, where they remain a hundred years, enjoying a more comfortable life than they had upon earth. After the lapse of the hundred years they enter the second heaven, where they abide a like period, enjoying a still better life. This period at an end, they come to God in the third heaven, where it is most pleasant to live, there being deer and bear in plenty and much fatter than here upon earth. God permits them the choice between remaining with him and again returning to the earth. In the event of their choosing the latter, they are born anew in the world. Such preaching the Indians enjoy. These men tell them, also, that if anyone would be freed from sin he should drink beson (that is a concoction prepared from medicinal roots and herbs) a different preparation each day, then he would be delivered from sin. Or he should take himself a scourge of twelve hooks and begin to flagellate himself at the foot, continuing up to the neck, then throw away the scourge and sin would escape from the throat, leaving him clean and well pleasing to God. They have made themselves a bible, consisting of a sheet of paper, on which there is a representation of God, of the Whites, the Indians and the Blacks, of the scale upon which the skins they obtain from deer, bear and all manner of land and water animals are weighed, of various plants, such as corn, beans, pumpkins, water-melons, trees and the like, out of which they always find subjects to preach upon. They constantly use the name of God in connection with their

most revolting heathenish abominations. But of the God revealed in the gospel they know nothing. Even if there are people among the Indians, as is really the case, who long and seek for something better, who groan under it all and eagerly wait for deliverance from the power of these false leaders, such may not make their feelings known for fear that their lives might be shortened. I must confess that nowhere else among the Indians have I found such desperate heathenism. Here Satan has his power, he sits enthroned, here he is worshipped of the heathen and accomplishes his work in the children of darkness. The name of God is taken in vain and dishonored by these heathen, in that they use it in connection with their most shameful abominations, pretending to worship God and to do what they do in His honor. If they were consciously using the name of the suffering God in this manner, I should say that here nothing is to be done. Yet there remains the mightiest weapon against such heathenism. For when one preaches to them Him who shed His blood for the sins of the world, their understanding has reached its end and they are silenced, even though they may be hostile to the message. Of this I can bear testimony.<sup>62</sup> On the 21st we conducted services morning and evening as usual. During the hours between we had many visitors. My two companions, especially Anton, who certainly is an apostle among his people, testified boldly of the reconciliation for the world through Christ. As I have heard from the Indians, the Indian preacher recognizes Anton's worth and is reported to have said that he believes concerning Anton and myself that we know God. Yet we have spoken quite plainly with him. As I saw that our time here was at an end, and that we had done all that for the time being could be done; as the Indians were about to go on the fall hunt (many had postponed this on account of our coming); as, further, it was late in the year and the winter near, we concluded to think of our homeward journey. I asked all the adult males, therefore, to meet us on the morrow to consider various things.<sup>63</sup> Such a meeting took place in the morning of the 22nd, after the early service. Among the assembled were two, who had yesterday returned from the chase, on hearing that we had arrived. They were fine men who were glad that they had not missed us and

would have some opportunity to hear the gospel. When they had all come into our house, I told them that our brethren had sent us to visit them, that is to say, we had been commissioned to come to them by those who were a part of the true Church that was being gathered from among all nations, many members of which had settled in this land and many more dwelling across the great water. All these were one people, for they believed on the One who had shed His blood for the children of men. They regarded all who had such faith, whether white, or black, or brown as their brethren and sisters. Thus we had congregations of brown and black people in the south. In Friedens-huetten, on the Susquehannah, we had a congregation of Indians. In the far north in Greenland we had a congregation, where there was the true faith. All these we looked upon as our brethren and sisters. The congregation at Bethlehem had sent us to visit them, for the purpose of proclaiming the gospel and in order to see whether they would receive it, because the Lord had commanded His people to proclaim the Word of His cross to all the nations of the earth. It was always a pleasure to us to find people who would receive our message. We had now been among them several days, had told them of the Saviour and how He might be found, in order that they might be saved. We had become convinced that there were many here who were anxious to hear our message. I could not say that of them all, but of the greater number, therefore, I had called them together to learn whether they would welcome another visit, for we had concluded to leave tomorrow. Now they would not hear anything further about the gospel for some time. One after another spoke, each one telling how he felt in the matter, signifying that it would be very agreeable to them to have us visit them again. They acknowledged themselves to be poor and in need of such a message. The preacher, in the mean time, sat still and said nothing. The others addressed him and inquired why he had nothing to say. He maintained silence, however, until all had spoken. Then being urged a second time to say something, he began to dispute our words and to prove his own principles. He stated that there were two ways of salvation, one for the white people and one for the Indians. He symbolized his statement

by means of a design, inscribed on the ground, showing the way for the Indians to be much more direct. I had left the house just as he began. When I returned he was speaking in a very excited manner and with great show of authority. I noticed that Anton did not know exactly how to answer him. I secured information about the whole of his discourse and then replied in the following manner. "I told you clearly enough several days ago that there is but one way of salvation, and the Saviour is Himself that Way. All men, be they white, black or brown, desirous of being saved, must come to him, as poor lost sinners, who know and feel that they are sinners and are seeking forgiveness." This, however, he could and would not comprehend and insisted on maintaining that the Indians had a separate way upon which they would come to God, as he expressed it. I told him that he was quite mistaken and was deceiving himself, if he held to such a view. He said, further, that he knew that the Saviour was the way of salvation, that he had known Him many years and had had spiritual communication with Him. I asked him whether he knew the Lord who had been wounded for our transgressions and who had shed His blood. He replied, "No, I know nothing of Him. Otherwise I know all things. I knew in advance that you would come here, but that God should have become man and shed His blood, as you say, of that I know nothing. This cannot be the true God, since I know nothing of this." I replied, "That is He, Who has created heaven and earth and all that is upon the earth, even men. When the latter fell away and through the deceit of Satan became the servants of sin, the Creator of heaven and earth came down from heaven, became man and released us from the power of Satan, not with gold or silver, but with His own precious blood and His innocent suffering and dying. That is the eternal, true God, there is none beside Him. Him I preach. But what kind of a God have you, and how do you know Him?" He bethought himself a while and did not know how to answer. Then I said to him, "If you do not know, I do know and will now tell you. The devil is your god, whom you preach to the Indians, for you are his servant. He is the father of lies and from him all lying proceeds. For this

reason you can tell the Indians nothing but lies to deceive them. You declare that you are concerned about God, but this is not true. When you celebrate Kentekey (that is their feast) and you stand before the stag (which is raised upon a stake with his horns) and you pray, whom do you worship? It is surely the devil; do not imagine that you have any part or communion with God, for you must not think that He has any pleasure in your pretended worship, since this is an abomination before Him." He answered, though somewhat more quietly than before, "But I cannot understand your teaching, it is something quite new and I cannot understand it." I answered, "I will explain that to you. Satan is the king of darkness and dwells in no light, where he is there is darkness. He dwells within you, him you feel and not God, as you say. For this reason your understanding is so darkened that you can understand nothing concerning God and His word. For several days I have been preaching to you. I have endeavored to make the message clear. Yet you cannot understand it. Were I to devote months, even years, to preaching to you, you would not be able to understand the gospel tidings, even though the words are not hard words but may be understood by a child. But if you will turn from Satan and his teaching (for your teaching is from the devil and you do not preach that which is truth) and will give up your Indian abominations and come to the Saviour as a poor, wretched, lost man, who knows nothing (for you think that you know much but you know nothing) and plead with Him for grace and mercy, then He may have mercy upon you and deliver you from the power of Satan. In that case it will be possible that you will learn to understand something about God and His word. Now it is impossible. Yet there is opportunity; if you will turn to the Saviour help can be granted. But do not delay, make haste and save your soul." These and other words I addressed to him, and Anton translated them faithfully. For some time there was silence. The words were indeed hard, yet I felt that I dared not speak otherwise. During the whole time of our stay here I had dealt tactfully with the man, thinking that it would mean a good deal for this region if I should succeed in winning

him. But when I saw he denied the merit of the Saviour and His blood and wished to rob Him of His honor, I could no longer bear it.<sup>64</sup>

After the lapse of some time the others present again addressed him, desiring that he should answer my first question, so that they might come to some conclusion about the matter under discussion. I replied, that I had heard their opinion, which was sufficient for me, and that I needed nothing further. At last, he replied, that he would be glad to hear because he was poor. Thereupon they separated. The blind chief and several others remained longer with us. They were quite satisfied that I had spoken the plain truth to the man. There seem to be many here who do not believe in his preaching, but they do not feel able to oppose it openly. I spoke to them further, about their dwelling in this place, pointing out that it was hardly a good place for a settlement, (1) because they did not live together, (2) because along this river they cannot be at peace, for it is the passage of the warriors and much rum is taken through here, so that they can neither prevent the war-dances of the warriors nor drunkenness. They immediately spoke of a proposition made to them by the Seneca Chief, who had sent them word that it was not good that they should dwell here, because the Ohio River, being the route of travel of the warriors, was quite bloody, and that it would be better for them to move to Venango Creek, a day's journey by land, or two days' journey by water, as it is a day's journey up the creek.<sup>65</sup> It is said to be a fine part of the country, a second Wajomik (Wyoming), and not used as a route of travel by the Indians as is this place. As this is two days' journey from Niagara, that is said to be only one day's journey, but it is equally far from Pittsburg, viz., four days' journey. The land of the Senecas continues down the river another day's journey to Onengen, or as it is called on the chart, Venango. There the country of the western Indians begins.<sup>66</sup>

A woman, who was a hundred and twenty years old or more, the mother of old Eve in Friedenshuetten, was brought to us today from the lower town, in order that she might hear something about the Saviour. She is no longer able to walk but is obliged to crawl as do the children. Otherwise she is quite

well and in possession of her faculties. Her daughter, who has entertained us here during our stay, is also a very old woman. We told her much about the love of the Saviour and she listened very attentively. In the evening there was a small company in our house, composed of the better people of this town, none from the other towns being present. I preached to them and some among them were moved to tears.

On the 23rd we wished to make an early start on our journey homeward, but the people of the other towns began to gather and desired to hear one more sermon. I preached a farewell sermon, accordingly, admonishing them not to forget what they had heard and felt. I can truthfully say that last evening and this morning I felt most comfortable among them in delivering the gospel message. Manifestly the hearts of the people were moved. The preacher was present, also, conducting himself very humbly. We bade all farewell and then started. Many accompanied us a few miles, and the leave-taking was for them and for us rather painful. On the way we met Senecas in two canoes. When they caught sight of us, they came nearer and one of their number, who was an Onondaga Indian, presented a wild goose he had shot.

On the 24th we met three canoes of Senecas, who were going down the river hunting. In the evening we reached their town, which is called Panawaku, and stayed for the night, occupying the same quarters as on our previous passage through this town.<sup>67</sup> There was no one in the town, except an old man and an old woman, the rest having gone off on the chase. At noon on the 26th we passed through Tiozinossungochta,<sup>68</sup> the middle town of the Seneca country. Here, also, there was no one at home. On the 27th we met a party of Indians who were hunting. They gave us meat and were very friendly. One Seneca gave me half a deer, for which we were very grateful, as we had no other provisions than corn with us. At noon we went through the last Seneca town, Tiohuwaquaronto.<sup>69</sup> Here we exchanged some of the meat for corn, so that we might have something for the horse on our passage through the great swamp. On the 28th there was a heavy snowfall, but we continued our march all day long and on the 9th reached the Forks, and on

the 30th the end of the Ohio. In the evening of the 31st we came to Passigachgungk on the West Branch of the Tiaogu, and, therefore, to the waters of the Susquehannah. John left us this morning to hunt and did not return to us until evening, when we had already encamped for the night. To our joy, he had shot a bear and had brought the two flitches of fat. We immediately cooked a kettle full, for we were very hungry. Though we had no bread to eat with the meat, we enjoyed the meal immensely. On the 2nd of November we reached Assinissingk.<sup>71</sup> John shot a deer, so that, after a fashion we had bread with our bacon, for venison may be eaten like bread. On the 3rd we came to Willawane,<sup>72</sup> finding that all the inhabitants were gone on the chase, except the Chief Eghund, who asked many questions about Goschgoschingk, how we had found conditions there and whether the people there had received our word. On the 4th we reached Scheschequaningk,<sup>73</sup> where there were only a few women at home. We wanted to go on, but were unable to cross the Susquehannah on account of the high water. We had to remain in the village for the night. Next day we succeeded in crossing with a canoe and with our horse, reaching Friedenschuetten in the evening. There I remained until the 11th, on which day I left. On the 15th I reached Christiansbrunn and on the following day arrived in Bethlehem.

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#### REPORT OF THE JOURNEY OF JOHN ETTWEIN, DAVID ZEISBERGER AND GOTTLÖB SENSEMAN TO FRIEDENS-HUETTEN<sup>74</sup> AND THEIR STAY THERE, 1768.

[The preceding Journal, when read at a public meeting at Bethlehem, "caused," writes De Schweinitz, "a great sensation."<sup>75</sup> It was immediately decided that Zeisberger and Senseman should proceed to establish a mission at Goschgoschünk. Disturbed conditions on the frontier<sup>76</sup> delayed their departure until April. John Ettwein, the author of the following Report, was born at Freudenstadt, in the Schwarzwald, Württemberg, Germany, in 1721, the descendant of protestant refugees from Savoy. Having joined the Moravian Church in 1739, he soon distinguished himself by his zeal and sound judgment. After filling various offices in the Church in Germany and England, he came to America, in 1754, where he found a field of labor for which he was particularly qualified. He served with unwearied energy in various places and

capacities, among whites and Indians. During the stormy period of the Revolutionary War, he was the commanding spirit at Bethlehem, Penna., and the accredited representative of the Moravian Church to the United States Government. He had extensive acquaintance and correspondence with public men. In 1784 he was consecrated a Bishop, and stood at the head of the Moravian Church in America until his death in 1802. Gottlob Senseman was one of the faithful coadjutors of David Zeisberger. He was born of Moravian missionary parentage. His father labored among the Indians in New England and Pennsylvania, and, among the negroes of Jamaica. His mother perished in the massacre at Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoni, Penna. The son worked with Zeisberger in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Canada. For a time he ministered to the whites in eastern Canada. They were so impressed with his energy and eloquence that they selected him for service in the Canadian Assembly. He declined this position as irreconcilable with his missionary duties. He died in Canada, while still engaged in active service. The concluding portions of the Report, while not concerning the pilgrimage to the Allegheny, are of value from many points of view, giving a vivid picture of a Christian Indian settlement, the ways and means of life, travel and development. The references to Zeisberger, especially to his singing are interesting and help explain his power and popularity.]

On the 15th of April we started from Bethlehem and on the following day from Christiansbrunn.<sup>77</sup> Nathaniel Dencke and David Zeisberger, Jr., accompanied us to the Bushkill.<sup>78</sup> By the evening of the 26th we had gone a mile beyond Wequetank.<sup>79</sup> When we had reached this point a thunderstorm came up and we built a hut of bark for shelter.

Early in the morning of the 27th we climbed Wolf Mountain, or as it has been called, the Thuernstein,<sup>80</sup> having a good view of the various gaps or openings in the Blue Mountains. Soon thereafter we came to a well, about six feet deep, which our Moravian Indians had cut through solid rock. At noon we rested on an old plantation, where the Indian Augustus had formerly had his hunting ground. Before his time an Indian woman, with two boys, had lived upon it many years, completely cut off from other Indians. She had been obliged to do this, because the Indians had sought her life on account of some offense. Having lived in solitude and in hiding for a long time, it is said that her sons became so shy and wild that they fled like deer the first time they saw other Indians.<sup>81</sup>

At noon we came into the swamp, which is reckoned to be from fifty to sixty miles long, stretching from north-east to south-west.<sup>82</sup> I had imagined it to be a wet, low ground, such as is generally described by the word *swamp*, but I did not find it to be so: it is simply a very dense forest upon and along the sides of the mountain range, never penetrated by the sunshine, and, therefore, always damp and wet. The numerous great roots, stones and the fallen trunks of trees make the passage of this tract very difficult. Indeed, it is a matter of surprise that men have sought and found a way through at all. Three creeks run through the swamp. These are the main branches of the Lehigh. In the second and third creeks, not far from the trail, there are high waterfalls, in one place water plunging down a full thirty feet with terrific roar. On this day we reached a point five miles beyond the Swamp and camped by the side of a small stream.<sup>83</sup>

On the 28th our way led, first of all, across a long level pine ridge, then we came to a deep, dark valley, where it is necessary to climb down the steep side of one mountain and up the equally steep side of another. We passed several more small creeks of the Lehigh and, at the last, came to the Wajomik Mountain.<sup>84</sup> When we had ascended it and begun to go down the other side we noticed a huge pile of stones, and I was told that as many Indians had scaled the mountain as there were stones in the pile.

In the afternoon at 2 o'clock we reached the house of Mr. Ogdon, the trader, in Wajomik.<sup>85</sup> He received us in a very friendly manner and entertained us hospitably. Only a few hours before our arrival various Chiefs of the Cherokees, who had been in Friedenshuettten, had left here. They had published everywhere peace with the Cherokees and renewed friendship with the English.<sup>86</sup> During the afternoon we inspected Wajomik and called to mind all that had here happened since Zinzendorf had been in the place. Of the Shawanees not a single one is left along the Susquehannah. Their burial-places in the caves of the rocks, whose entrances are guarded by great painted stones, it is still possible to see.<sup>87</sup>

As we found that our two horses would not be able to carry

everything to Friedenshuetten by land, we begged the trader for a canoe, and he gave us one that belonged to Friedenshuetten.

In the early morning of the 29th it looked as though it would rain heavily during the day. The trader persuaded us to remain. About nine o'clock in the morning the Indian Marcus,<sup>88</sup> one of our Christian Indians, arrived with his son. They were on their way home from the beaver hunt. In a short time it cleared up and at noon we started with them. I went with the one Indian by land, while the other Indian assisted my companions on the water. We travelled along the east side of the river, over a long flat stretch. The other side of the Susquehannah was covered for many miles with a beautiful oak forest. We had nine miles to go in order to reach Lechawahnek,<sup>89</sup> where until the year '55 there had been an Indian town, in which the Rev. and Mrs Schrueck,<sup>90</sup> Chr. Seidel<sup>91</sup> and David Zeisberger had visited and preached at various times. John Papunham<sup>92</sup> and others, who now belong to our people, had lived there. It is a beautiful place and good ground for an Indian settlement, but now it is entirely deserted, just as Wajomik is. Along the road there is a burial place, in which it is possible to distinguish clearly some thirty graves. There we found Joshua, Sr.,<sup>93</sup> and Gabriel, who were on their way home, the first named had already walked forty miles this day. Both were very hungry and were glad that we were well supplied with bread. I regarded it as providential leading that our Indian brethren had come to Wajomik several days sooner than they had expected to come, for otherwise I should have been obliged to travel by land alone and would have tried, according to the directions given me, to ride on the shore of the Susquehannah a considerable distance, from a point about two miles above Lechawchaek, because otherwise there was no trail. Joshua saw at once that the Susquehannah was too high, took me in his canoe and sent Marcus with the horse a long de tour through the woods and over the mountains. I soon saw that near a projecting rock I would have gotten into a strong current of water from six to eight feet deep and was thankful for the Providential deliverance. In the evening we all met at Anton's former dwelling-place<sup>94</sup> and spent the night there. Here

I was informed that from Lechawachnek to this point two strong savage Indians had followed the late Bishop Cammerhof, with the intention of beating him severely because of the baptism of Anton.<sup>95</sup> One of these two is now a valued member of our mission at Friedenshuetten.

On the 30th at noon we all stopped at Segapuch, meaning the island where there are many cherries—that is small cherries that grow on little plants along and in the water between the rocks.<sup>96</sup> After that we crossed the Tenkannek (meaning the little river), at this time a swollen raging stream. Besides we were obliged to go down so steep a mountain that the horse trembled unless it was held by the tail. Then we crossed several high hills until we came to Oppening (meaning, where there were many potatoes).<sup>97</sup> Here we met Job Chelloway and Christian with their families, who had come from Friedenshuetten where they had been boiling sugar and making canoes. In the evening there was a heavy thunderstorm and much rain, in the midst of which the canoes arrived. Job gave up his tent to us, for which we were grateful on account of the rain.

In the morning of May 1st the canoes could not proceed on account of the strong wind, besides our horse had run away. Abraham and Gabriel succeeded in bringing back the horse about two o'clock in the afternoon. With Marcus I, then, hurried off in order to reach Friedenshuetten, if possible, before night. We crossed five or six high mountains, from the last of which we were able to see the place lying about three miles before us.<sup>98</sup> We reached it safely in the evening at about eight o'clock. There was a meeting of the congregation at this hour. Schmueck addressed the people in the English language and Anton translated. After that I presented the greetings of our people in Bethlehem and Nazareth, feeling particularly happy in the presence of this congregation. The meeting over, the first thing I heard was this, that two messengers from Coschcosching [Goschgoschünk] had already been there eight days. These had come to inquire how soon somebody could be sent to them. They had wished to leave several days ago and were now ready to start early in the morning. I immediately had them asked to remain the next and await the arrival of David Zeisberger. I

had occasion again to recognize Providential leading, otherwise I should not have arrived today and the two messengers would have left without knowing anything about any of our people visiting them again.

Early on the 2nd of May several of the people here went to meet the canoes, in order to help them over some of the waterfalls in the Susquehannah, below Friedenshuetten. At noon all arrived safely.

We soon had a conference with the Schmuecks concerning various of the people here who might accompany Zeisberger and Senseman. Afterwards we broached the matter to Anton and his wife and Abraham and his wife, who received the proposal with joy. The son-in-law of the latter, Peter, and his wife, Abigail, announced themselves as glad to go along. We were pleased at their willingness to go, the more so because Peter is a good hunter.

In the evening there was a helper's conference, in which the members were informed of the proposed journey, and there was discussion, also, as to what should be told the messengers.

At an early service on May 3rd Schmueck read the Rev. Nathaniel Seidel's<sup>99</sup> beautiful letter to the Indian congregation here with reference to the journey to Coschcosching and their interest in the same. Thereupon David Zeisberger, Anton and several others spoke to the two men from Coschcosching (one of these had entertained the three visitors from here during the whole time of their stay and his appearance made as favorable an impression as that of any of the baptized Indians at Friedenshuetten). They repeated their message once more and then were told who would go to live among them. They related, further, that this spring five families had wished to settle in another place but that they had not reached an agreement where to settle; that Samuel who lived on the Ohio had died; that various individuals from afar had signified their intention to visit them in case Moravians should again come among them; that an Indian preacher had inquired about the teaching of the Moravians and begged to be informed in case the teacher who had visited them last fall should return, since it had even been revealed to him in a dream that the Indian preachers, himself included, did not

preach the truth and that Zeisberger might have the true doctrine. They offered of their own accord to see to it that planting should be done for those who were to come, before their arrival, and they declared that the people were willing to meet the newcomers with canoes, provided they knew when they were coming. They expected to accomplish the return journey up the Ohio in order to meet the Moravians thirty days from this date, at a point where they would come to the Ohio, or to go to meet them in the Swamp.

On May 4th the two messengers left us in good spirits A number of our people accompanied them to the water. In company with Schmueck I visited the families of the settlement

On May 5th I examined carefully the situation and surroundings of Friedenshuetten.

On May 6th the first Shad<sup>100</sup> were caught, and a seal was vainly followed for about seven miles in the Susquehannah.<sup>101</sup> The boys brought us in these days plenty of fish, trout, pickerel, salmon and other varieties.

On the 7th there was a solemn and happy celebration of the Holy Communion.

On the 8th there were various services, one arranged particularly as a farewell service for the men and women who were to leave. The good that the settlement of Friedenshuetten had enjoyed during the three years of its existence was brought to remembrance. In that period of time forty-nine persons had been baptized in this place (among the rest, Abraham and Salome and Peter and Abigail).

On the 9th it was recalled at the early service that it was three years to the day that the people had reached this place from the Barracks.<sup>102</sup> Parting hymns were sung and soon thereafter the travellers started, all the inhabitants of the village accompanying them to the water. There were many tears when farewells were said. Zeisberger and Senseman had a canoe for their effects, the Antons had one, the Abrahams and Peters had one together, and in a fourth I travelled with two Indians as far as Tschetschequanik,<sup>103</sup> because several families there had repeatedly begged and invited the Moravians to come to them and preach the Word of God. Some twenty people from that place

had been here on a visit. These, also, accompanied us, so that we counted ten canoes and thirty-six persons. This evening we reached a point above Masasskung<sup>104</sup> and on the evening of the 10th we arrived at Tschetschiquanik. The Chief Achgo-hunt<sup>105</sup> was not at home. Jo Pipi received us at the water's edge and conducted us to his house, the largest in the village, as our lodging place. In the evening many of the people gathered about us. I said to Anton that we should like to have a service for our members (about fifteen in all) and that the rest were welcome to remain. The answer came unhesitatingly, "O, yes, that is what we wish, we would be glad to hear the words of the Saviour in this town." Zeisberger sang some Delaware hymns with our members very effectively. I spoke in English and Anton translated.

During the forenoon of the 11th a sermon was preached at the request of the people of the village. Anton translated. It was evident that the Word was gladly received. In the evening Anton delivered a spirited and hearty address. Afterwards, we conversed with the people. The Nanticok Chief and several other strange Indians who arrived here yesterday were also at the meeting.

After breakfast on the 12th Zeisberger preached. The service over, Jo Pipi, James Davis, Sam Davis and James held a short council, to which they invited Zeisberger and myself. They said to me, "Dear Brother, we have already taken counsel together and wish now to tell you our mind that you may take our words to Bethlehem. You see that we are here four families, we, our wives and children, anxious to hear God's Word. It is true that we often go to Wialusing<sup>106</sup> to hear, but we cannot always be there. We would be willing to move thither, but we have much cattle and large families. In Wiahlusing there is not much pasture for cattle and it is harder to make a living there than here, where we have much good land and many meadows. Therefore, we wish that Moravians might dwell among us and preach the gospel to us. Zeisberger asked, "But how is it with the other families who are not of your mind, do they not arrange dances? will they not disturb you and hinder you?"<sup>107</sup> Answer: "The four or five houses across the run did so until lately, but

the Chief, who is, also, of our persuasion, has forbidden such practice and we look upon them as an eagle on a branch near the water, which, if it sees anyone approach, flies away. So will they when the Word of God comes to us to move away one after another."

I promised to report their words to the authorities in Bethlehem. They would welcome this message and serve them as far as possible. Soon thereafter our party left for the Ohio.<sup>108</sup>

From here they had eight or nine miles to go to Tiaogu where our Susanna Nitschman ended her martyrdom twelve years ago.<sup>109</sup> Three Indians are helping our party from Friedenshuetten to the middle of the swamp between the Tiaogu and the Ohio. The people of this place, also, are furnishing two men to help for one day's journey, as the canoes are heavily laden and two or three must go with the two horses and the cattle over land. Tschetschequanik consists of twelve houses or huts;<sup>110</sup> meadows and good land run from this place along the one shore of the Susquehannah to Tiaogu. A trail leads from here to the West Branch. On one occasion Bishop Spangenberg traveled on it with David Zeisberger on the way to Onondaga.<sup>111</sup>

I returned with my companions to Friedenshuetten, favorable wind and stream enabling us to accomplish the distance of some thirty miles in six hours.

On the 13th and 14th, all the inhabitants of Friedenshuetten were busy planting, they had been the whole past week. I had the opportunity of conferring at length with Missionary Schmueck and his wife.

On the 15th I had the opportunity of conducting the Sunday services, the reverence and attention of the Indians here are very edifying. The singing of this congregation is not as hearty as it once was, owing to the death of so many of its members during the stay in Philadelphia.

The place has a good name among the Six Nations and elsewhere. Many Indians happen to hear the gospel here and think well of the manner of life and the discipline of the Moravians.

On the 16th after the morning-prayer services I left this

place which had become very dear to me. Nearly all the inhabitants accompanied me to the water, thanked me heartily for the visit and sent hearty greetings to Nathaniel Seidle and his wife, Anna Johanna, and all the Moravians in Bethlehem and Nazareth.

Marcus and his son, Abraham, brought me in a canoe to Wajomik, where we arrived on the 17th. On the 18th we came to the Swamp, on the 19th I reached Nazareth, and the 20th I arrived safely and well in Bethlehem.

A brief inscription of Friedenshuetten may be added.

This place in its situation and surroundings is very similar to the last Gnadenhuetten, except that in the case of the latter the river, Lecha, does not run in such a winding course.<sup>112</sup> The Susquehannah runs past Friedenshuetten in a broad semi-circle, or like a Latin C. In the middle of the curve lies the village. There is one long street lined by two rows of houses. The latter stand some eighty feet apart. In the middle of the place is the congregation house or meeting hall. Toward the west of this, on either side of the street, ten lots are occupied. This is the case, also, toward the east. Toward the north a new street has been laid out. Each lot is thirty-two feet wide, and each house stands by itself. Between each two lots there is an alley, ten feet wide. The depth of the lots is according to the wish of the owner to have a large or a small garden. There are already eighteen nicely weather-boarded log houses, and others are to be built.<sup>113</sup> Outside the curve and over against the village run the mountains. In the river, opposite the village, a little to the south, there is a small island and beyond this there is a narrow opening in the mountains, through which a small creek comes in from the south.

Between the village and the water and up along the river lies the clear corn land, about sixty rods broad and a mile and a half long, very good land. According to my reckoning, there must be about two hundred acres of cleared land and a hundred acres of bottom land, very good but not cleared, stretching along the Susquehannah up to Wialusing Creek, where they have meadows. Stretching down along the Susquehannah from the village there is a narrow strip of low land (like the land from

Sangipak to Gnadenhuetten). This is covered with trees, the largest water-beeches and sugar trees one may see anywhere.

Kindling wood they are obliged to get from quite a distance. If, according to usual Indian fashion, they were to use only the branches and twigs, they would not have enough. Hence, most of the people here chop up the entire tree trunks. Their good fences were a source of wonder to me. They have from three to four miles of fencing about the place and their cultivated land. This fencing is so well done that it could be called lawful among the whites. Fencing they need on account of the hogs, of which they have a great many.<sup>114</sup> They are, also, well supplied with cattle and horses. They usually make their hay six or seven miles from the village, up the Susquehannah. From that point they bring it down by water. Practically every family has its canoe. These canoes, as they lie together in the river, make an imposing array.

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DIARY OF DAVID ZEISBERGER AND GOTTLÖB ZENSEMAN.  
JOURNEY TO GOSCHGOSCHINK ON THE OHIO AND THEIR  
ARRIVAL THERE, 1768.

[Responding to the clear call from the Allegheny, Zeisberger and Senseman and two converted Indian families proceeded to Goschgoschink in May 1768. The following pages record the incidents of the journey and the "diary of the Brethren in Goschgoschuenk on the Ohio."

From many standpoints the story of the founding of this mission is of superlative interest. This was an important year in western history; the treaty between the Six Nations and Cherokees was negotiated as well as the famous Treaty of Fort Stanwix which gave western Virginia and Kentucky to Virginia and completed the repudiation of the King's Proclamation of 1763. In these years succeeding the failure of Pontiac's Rebellion the ancient order of things gave way; this diary, more plainly than any other document, shows the unrest and distrust of those last days of Indian supremacy.

The fact of the purchase of western land, as completed at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, had long been under discussion with the Six Nations, as noted herein, is not mentioned elsewhere. And it appears also that the progress of the Moravians into Ohio was being

negotiated as early as the summer of 1768. The Wyandot ownership of eastern Ohio comes out very plainly in this document.]

On the 9th of May we started with our whole company, namely, Anton and his wife, Johanna, Abraham and Salome, Peter and Abigail and the boy Christian, the grandson of Anton,<sup>115</sup> from Friedenshuetten, partly by water and partly by land. Bishop Ettwein, who had accompanied us hither from Bethlehem, journeyed with us to Schichschiquanuenk,<sup>116</sup> where we arrived on the 10th and remained during the 11th.

On the 12th we took leave of Bishop Ettwein, who returned to Friedenshuetten. We had wished that he might accompany us to the Ohio. Starting on our journey we came at noon into the Diaogu [Tioga], where we had to make our way against a swift current. In the evening we encamped in the woods. A number of Indians were with us on their way to Wilawane.

The last named place we reached on the 13th, at noon. We found very few at home, the most were at work on their plantations. We tarried a few hours and then proceeded several miles further, to where Salome's brother lives quite alone on the Tiaogu, his house being the last house. Here we remained for the night. But we had hardly arrived when some twenty Indians of the principal people of Wilawane followed us in order to spend the night with us. I thought, at first, that they had come to hear the gospel, but they had something very different in mind. They held a council, to which they invited our Christian Indians. To the latter they presented a Belt of Wampum with the words: "It is not good that you go to the Ohio, it is contrary to the wish of the Six Nations and, especially, to the Chief of Cajuga<sup>117</sup> that the Indians should move away from the Susquehannah to the Ohio, where they ought to remain content. Therefore, turn back whence you have come, for your way is not good." Anton came and told me all. Thereupon, I went to them in order to communicate our wish and intention; that we did not go to the Ohio for the reason that we were not satisfied here, or that the place was not good enough for us, or because we hoped to find conditions better, which probably was the reason that other Indians

moved thither. These considerations were by no means the occasion of our journey, for we were well satisfied with Friedenshuetten. We had no other purpose in going to Goschgoschink than to preach the gospel to the Indians who had called upon us to come and do so. We were bound to do this, in view of the command of God to bring the good tidings of our God and Creator to all men, whether white, or black or brown, that through Him they might be saved. In this matter we could not, therefore, obey them; they did not understand our motives, and for this reason we would not take it so much amiss that they were opposed to our journey. We would, therefore, continue our journey on the morrow, and as far as the Chief in Cajuga was concerned arrangements had already been made to give him notice and information about the undertaking. Herewith we returned their belts. They mentioned that they had always hoped that the Indians in Goschgoschink would return and settle here again, but now since we were going there they would have to give up such hopes. We answered that if these Indians had had any intention of returning hither they would surely not have invited us to come to them. I stated, further, that while on this very journey an invitation had come to us, also, from the Indians living in Schechsiquanuenk, who had received the Word, and that I did not doubt that a missionary would be sent to them to preach the gospel. I should think, further, that it would be good for them to think over the matter of what they wanted to do. I had gone through these parts during the preceeding fall and investigated whether they would not, also, gladly hear of God, but had learned of no such desire. They ought not to be the last. Later several of them came over to our fire, for we were spending the night out in the open, the house being too small; Anton continued to speak to them in this strain and preached the Saviour to them very earnestly.

Early in the morning of the 14th our whole company was served with tea and bread and butter by the brother of Salome, whereupon we took leave and continued our journey, without any one's attempting further to dissuade us.

On the 15th we came to Assinissink and spent the night in Gachtochwawunk,<sup>118</sup> on the first fork of the Tiaogu.

On the 16th we proceeded up the Branch westward, the other comes from the north out of the Seneca country, and at noon we came to the second fork, where we took the Branch to the right.

On the 17th we found the water becoming very shallow, so that it was difficult to get ahead with the loaded canoes. Those of our party who were proceeding by water quite unexpectedly caught two bears and a deer. We immediately cooked, roasted and ate and then continued our journey. Those proceeding by land went, today as yesterday, through nothing but woods and fire. They found the air very hot and quite filled with smoke.<sup>119</sup>

In the forenoon of the 19th we came to Passikachkunk,<sup>120</sup> there our journeying by water came for some days to an end. Since we had left the last fork, the stream had become so small that it had not even the volume of the Manakesie, at Bethlehem. For the last three days we had been obliged to drag our canoes through the shallowest places. We were thankful that we had made the trip safely thus far. In the driving of the cattle (we have three head with us) we did not experience as much difficulty as had been anticipated. A family of Indians from Wilawane has been traveling with us. They are, also, going to Gosch-goschink.

On the 20th two of the Indians, who had accompanied us thus far, returned to Friedenshuetten. I wrote to Bethlehem, and then we took about half our baggage part way into the Great Swamp,<sup>121</sup> meeting here again in the evening.

On the 21st we broke camp and made our way some distance into the Swamp, stopping at a Creek, called the Pemid-hannak, which runs into Canada. Up to this time, our course had been W. N. W., but today it changed and we sent W. S. W.

On the 22nd we fetched up our baggage and in the afternoon continued our journey some distance. It happened today that our company was alone, the others having remained behind to hunt.

On the 23rd we came to the Pemidhanek,<sup>122</sup> a great creek which between Lake Erie and Ontario empties into the St. Lawrence, in the neighborhood of Niagara, and which is half way between the Tiaogu and the Ohio Rivers. A day's journey down

this Creek there is a large Seneca town of a hundred houses, and a day's journey further on lies Zoneschio, which I visited on one occasion with the late Bishop Cammerhof.

During the 24th and the 25th we rested because the Indians were thoroughly tired from carrying the heavy burdens, Anton, particularly, was very weak. They built themselves a sweating-hut, in which they took a rest-cure.<sup>123</sup>

We proceeded on the 27th, meeting at noon the Wilawane family, which had gone ahead yesterday. They had shot a bear, so that we had a good noon-day meal. We reached today the source of the Ohio, which is a great spring.<sup>124</sup>

In the evening of the 28th we came to the first Fork, where it is possible to use the canoes in the Creek, whereof we were very glad and thankful, for the most difficult part of the journey had been passed. Another cause of anxiety, however, was that our provisions were used up, every one of the party had given up his store for the common good. The women gathered herbs and cooked them. Although boiled in water, they tasted very good.

On the 29th we went several miles down the Creek to the Second Fork. We had hardly reached this spot when Anton shot a very large pike with a bullet. Here the Creek had grown to be quite a stream and it was easy going in the canoes. On the way we found a sign on a tree made by the two messengers from Goschgoschink, who had gone ahead from Friedenshuetten. From this we saw that they had made the journey to this point in twelve days and must, therefore, have arrived at their destination in good time.

As no canoe had yet arrived and we could not expect any for the next three days, we went to work and made several canoes of bast for the trip down the stream. Our food consisted of herbs and fish, the latter secured by the Indians with their rifles. Among the fish there are suckers, but much larger than any I had ever seen before. Another variety of fish caught is the so-called Buffalo-fish, named thus because of the cattle-like lowing attributed to them. These fish are broad, have large scales and fins and are very good to eat. As two of the Indians, Henry and a stranger, were preparing to take a hunting trip

through the forest back toward Friedenshuetten, I wrote letters to Bethlehem.

On the 31st we started down stream. Several of our company proceeded by land, driving the cattle. At first the Ohio flows toward the north, then turns more southward, sometimes flowing due south, so that the general course is south-west. In the evening it rained and we built huts for ourselves, as we had already built a number in course of this trip. At this time of the year it is a great comfort that it is possible to put up such huts very quickly in this forest.

On the 1st of June we reached the first Seneca town. We were invited to spend the night, which we were very glad to do, because it continued to rain heavily. The men of the town, of whom a few were at home, the majority being off hunting, met in the evening and asked me to tell them concerning the intention of our journey. This I did, telling them that we had been invited by the Indians of Goschgoschink to visit them and tell them the words about our God and Creator. Among those present there was an Indian from Zoneschio, who had seen me in that town eighteen years ago. He was about to return to his home and asked me what he should tell his chief concerning me, for he would be glad to know why I had come into this region. I replied that there was no other reason for our coming into these parts than to proclaim the gospel to the Indians who had desired us to do so, that for the present I could say no more, but that later when we had spoken with the Indians at Goschgoschink and learned their wishes we would inform him further by messenger concerning our intentions. In the meantime, he should announce to Chief Hagastaaes,<sup>125</sup> that I had come hither, for he knew me. With this the Indians were satisfied. As the Senecas are among the most brutal and savage of the Indians, not at all friendly to the cause of the gospel, it is a very delicate matter to deal with them. We bought some corn for salt. The latter commodity is very rare here and much desired. They gave us some things also, so that we had something to fall back upon, in case no provisions should be brought toward us from Goschgoschink. We found that there were two white women and a girl in the neighborhood, but they did not come near enough so that we could have spoken

to them. From the Indians I learned that they had come either from Maryland or Virginia. They had been brought hither as captives and were so well pleased with their conditions that they did not desire to return.

On the 2nd of June we continued our journey, having secured provisions of baked bread and pounded some corn. As it had rained heavily during the preceding night those of our company who were going by land had difficulty in getting ahead with the cattle, because of the swollen creeks across which it was necessary to swim. In the afternoon we met the canoe expected from Goschgoschink. There were three young Indians in it, who brought us provisions and tobacco. They had been on the way four days and had expected to reach the Fork, where we awaited them, on the morrow. They did not look very peaceful, for they were painted black and red, as though they were going to war.

On the morning of the 3rd we sent the three Indians ahead with our heavy baggage in the heavier bast canoe. We used their canoe. Toward evening we passed the second Seneca village, where there were only four huts, most of the Indians having moved away in the spring.

On the 4th we made but a short distance, as the road turns away from the river, and it is hardly possible for the two parts of our party to encamp for the night separated from each other.

During the 5th and 6th we remained in camp, because of the heavy rain, coming steadily from the west. Abraham shot a deer and, also, a large sea-tortoise. Over the latter the Indians were amazed, for they had never seen the like.<sup>126</sup> Here the wolves disturbed us during the night with their music. Because we were encamped in a thicket, they came quite near to our fire, so that the Indians threw fire-brands at them.

On the 7th we broke camp and went on. The Ohio runs a very winding course here, with nothing but high mountains on either side; there are, also, water-falls and rocks of considerable size. At noon we reached Canawaca, a Seneca town, where we stopped several hours. Before coming to the town we passed several plantations, where the Indians called to me, asking whether I were not Ganosseracheri.<sup>127</sup> They followed us to the town. Most of the people knew me, because a year ago I had

on two occasions spent the night here. The men of the town immediately gathered and I had to tell them the purpose of our visit, as I had previously been obliged to do in the first town. They were all very friendly toward us and when we left they stood on the bank, watched us and saluted us with several rifle-shots. We would have remained here for the night, had we not feared that our cattle might cause damage in their plantations, for their land is not fenced in.

Toward evening, on the 9th, we reached Goschgoschuenk, stopping at the uppermost town. To our surprise the Indian preacher took us into his house, which is the largest, until we should be able to put up a hut for ourselves. He lodged his family elsewhere and turned the house over to our service. We were welcomed in a very friendly manner, and we could see from their expressions of joy that we were very welcome to most of the people if not all. The middle town, two miles down stream, is almost entirely deserted and the Indians have scattered up and down the River. The blind chief, with whom we had much to do last year, is on his way to Friedenshuetten. There is great confusion here, as there is neither unity nor a social spirit among the people. Each is for himself and the inhabitants are scattered over a distance of a whole day's journey along the River. In this part of the town there are but fourteen houses together. It will not seem strange if we put up our house somewhat apart from the others. Our evening prayer service was attended by four of the Indians from the town.

On the 10th of June we had the house full of visitors all day long. As many as had heard of our arrival came up stream to visit us. We met, also, old Sarah, the sister of Samuel who died in the spring, and her daughter Elizabeth, the wife of Zacharias. They had heard that Moravians would come hither and, therefore, moved to this place, arriving only several days ago. They had lived nine days' journey distant from here on the River, where Post<sup>128</sup> was, a little above Tuscarawi.<sup>129</sup> Benjamin, the Mohican, is here also. Toward evening we held a very largely attended meeting. Not half the people had room in the house. Most stood outside. All were very attentive and

it was a great privilege to deliver the gospel message. We began by singing one of our Indian hymns, as there are a number here who know them. I announced, among other things, that we would have services morning and evening, so that they could make their arrangements accordingly. A Minque [Mingo], or rather Cajuga Indian, who knew me eighteen years ago and with whom I had lodged in company with the late Bishop Cammerhoff in Gan- atocheracht,<sup>130</sup> on the Tiaogu, visited me and told me that he wished to make his home here. He had come some days ago from Bedford<sup>131</sup> and would be glad if I should remain, so that I could teach his child. He intimated that he loved the good and would be glad to hear about the Saviour. Another Indian had already proclaimed to the people "that the worms will destroy all your corn because these people have come;" he and some others are great enemies of the gospel.

On the 11th, after the early service, we went out with several Indians (who wished to give us some clear land for planting) in order to look at some land, which, in part at least, is about two miles from here. Each one has his plantation where it pleases him. They have no fences, so that their corn is liable to be damaged by cattle. The character of the land is such that they could not well have their plantations close together, and, therefore, not a good locality for a town or settlement. We had thought that it would be too late for planting after our coming, but the people here have only begun their planting, because it is not yet summer, and the weather is still very cool. This region must lie farther north than Pennsylvania. In part, they have begun planting for us. With a trader from Loyalhanning,<sup>132</sup> who passed here and who is the first ever to have come here, I sent a letter to Matthew Hehl at Lititz. He knows Post very well, for he has traded in Tuscarawi. Because I learned that he would soon return and wished to bring along rum, I arranged that he should be dispatched with my letter publicly and that it should be forbidden him to bring the rum. He promised not to do so. Our services today were again well attended. We have all manner of listeners, red and black painted faces, heads decorated with plumes of feathers or of fox-tails. This seems to be very much in vogue here among the young people, I have not

found it worse or even as bad among the Six Nations. After the service Anton continued speaking to the people, explaining the message further to them. A woman, who was ill, wished to be baptized. Though she was sick unto death, it did not seem to me to be right to comply with her request, for she was hardly able to speak any more and had never heard anything about the Saviour until the present time, when Salome had visited and spoken to her.

On the 12th several Indians from the lower town, six miles from here, came to the service. Among these were a Chief and a Shawnee. Afterward we visited outside the town, meeting with an Indian, who told us that it had occurred to him during the sermon that he had stolen two sheep and a chicken from the whites but otherwise he could not remember to have committed any sin. I replied that I would tell him of a greater sin that he had committed and was still committing, viz., that he did not believe in the Saviour who had shed His blood for him. Old Sarah told us of the distress and unrest of her heart, adding that she was very much plagued by Satan who had twice appeared to her, so that she had been unable to remain in the town among the Indians where her home had been, but had retired into the forest alone with her daughter, until her brother Samuel had died. Then they came hither, having heard that the Moravians were coming into these parts. At the evening service there were again many from outside the village. The sick woman died today, and there was, according to Indian custom, great wailing and lamentation.

On the 13th we planted corn. The Indians of the village are helping us very industriously. Five Senecas came from Onenge, or Venango,<sup>133</sup> among them a Chief, who was dissatisfied and very angry over the fact that the Indians here should suffer whites—meaning us—among them. He spoke very bitterly. When we returned from the plantation, I wanted to go to them and talk with them. But the Indians of the town dissuaded me, saying that they wished first to speak with these people again, fearing, lest, in the heat of discussion, they might do me an injury. They promised to call me after they had spoken with them. But the Indians had already gone. At this

they were very much embarrassed. Therefore, on the 14th, we conferred with them and told them what we thought ought to be done in the matter, namely, send a message to Zoneschio to the Seneca chief, whereby the matter might once for all be settled. We would assist them in every way possible, as I had already, for, in passing through the three Seneca towns, intimated that some matter of the kind would be referred to them. As it rained and we were obliged to remain in the house, we had many visitors. Anton and Abraham witnessed for the Saviour with great zeal. We heard of an Indian town down the Ohio where they expect to build a meeting house, observe the Sabbath and have the Indian preacher conduct meetings. There are others who begin to celebrate the sixth day. All these preachers trace the beginning of their efforts to the Quakers, claiming that these had told them that they were on the right way and that they should continue therein. It is hardly credible that the Quakers should have had such an influence among the Indians, since they have not come among the natives. If only these preachers had the Word of God! Unfortunately, all their preaching is heathenism and idolatry.

On the 17th we made known to the people that we would be glad to build a house somewhere for ourselves, because it was necessary that we should live alone, inasmuch as our cause and heathenism, viz., their dances and Kentekeys, or feasts, did not harmonize. Whoever would, then, gladly hear about the Saviour might come to us, and whoever would rather see and hear heathen practices could come hither. We went, therefore with several of them a little distance from the town to select a place and then went into the woods to peel bast for the roof of the house. The people assisted us. One of the messengers, who had been in Friedenshuetten, announced forthwith that he and his family would settle with us, when we had determined on a dwelling-place. The evening service was conducted by Anton, who exhorted the people very earnestly that it was not sufficient to be glad to hear about the Saviour but that it was necessary that they should allow the Word they heard to exert its influence of power and truth in their hearts.

On the 18th I received word through several strange Indians that a certain chief, Glikkikan<sup>135</sup> my name, wished very much to see me. He is reported to have said that if I could teach him to make powder he would love me very much. He had wished to come hither but could not on account of the illness of his wife. He lives six days' journey from here. I asked them to say to him, that I could not teach him to make powder for I could not make it myself, but that, if he would come, I would tell him something much more precious, I would show him the way to the Saviour and to salvation.

On the 19th the Sunday service was attended by a good many from beyond the village. These people always inquire when it will be Sunday, for during the week distance prevents their attending our meetings. Anton and Abraham explained further what I had said in the sermon.

On the 20th the people helped us to get the wood and other things needful for the building of the house. As we have wood nearby, we resolved to build a blockhouse. We can finish this as quickly, if not more quickly than an Indian hut, for which we would need bast that would have to be hauled over a mile. Even the younger element, which is very coarse, showed a willingness to assist us and is apparently not inimical toward us. They, also, brought corn for us from all the plantations, without and within the town, so that we have enough to eat. It is the custom among the Indians that the recipients of such gifts should signify their gratitude by the presentation of a Belt of Wampum. But as we had come to proclaim the gospel among them and they did not expect us to express our thanks in such a manner, we took the opportunity after the evening service to make due acknowledgement of their readiness to help and to wish for them rich blessing from the Lord. In the evening Anton witnessed vigorously against heathenism. The occasion for doing this was that some had told him that it was rumored that in a certain patch of woods in the lower town they had corn that spake of an evening. No one could understand its speech, though it seemed to them to be English. He said to them in effect, "you wonder at that which is not true, for how can corn speak; why do you not wonder at this

that God, the Creator of heaven and earth, has come into the world and shed His blood for us and given His life as a ransom." He preached a long sermon.

On the 21st we moved our effects into a hut that we had put up at the place where we are erecting our house. We, also, began laying the log walls. The place we have chosen is near the river, where there is a spring, about half a mile down from the town. Thus we are located somewhat apart from the village and will be able to conduct our meetings undisturbed. For the present no other arrangement can be made than that we should all dwell in one house. Most of the people of these villages are away for the summer hunt, the houses are almost deserted, only some of the older people are at home. In the evening we held a service in our hut, some of the people from the villages attended. It is a very happy circumstance that all the members of our company dwell together in peace and happiness and seek each to lighten the burdens of the other.

Early in the morning of the 22nd Sarah came to us, declaring that she had not been able to rest all the night because of sorrow for her unfaithfulness to the Saviour. We finished putting up the walls of our house. Several of the Indians who had remained at home and not gone on the chase helped us very industriously. I asked the Chief who lives six miles from here to visit us, in order that we might with him and the Indians here confer about our business with the Senecas. At our service this evening there were many strangers. Anton and Abraham preached to them.

The 23rd and the 24th we spent in working on our house. As the Chief whom I had asked to visit us is unable to come on account of illness and there is no one here who can act in the matter of our dwelling here without offending the Senecas, we considered seriously whether Anton, Abraham and I should undertake a journey to the Seneca Chief, because I feared that we might draw hard words from the Senecas upon ourselves, which would injure our work. We concluded that it would be better to wait for the present. In the meantime matters may clear themselves up on all sides. A baptized Jew, who had been in New England, discourages the Indians from attending our services by declaring that whoever believes and is baptized becomes

the servant of the whites. He adds that in New England and in Friedenshuetten he had observed that the baptized Indians were obliged to become the servants of the whites.<sup>136</sup>

On the 25th we had many visitors all day long in our hut. Anton and Abraham preached to them constantly. The women in our company spoke to the female visitors. The people here surely are sufficiently instructed. The question is whether they understand and obey. Many hear gladly and seem to understand. In them the fruit of our labors will appear in due time.

On the 26th a large number appeared at the services. The Sunday meetings are always better attended. During the week many who would be glad to come are unable to do so because of the distances they have to travel and because they are obliged to attend to their plantations. The Indian preacher who lives here visits our meetings quite regularly. Yet he continues to assert that he had seen God and knows Him, and he assures the Indians that he has been at God's side. He has not seen fit to discuss the matter with us. He keeps quiet so far as we are concerned and we have not disturbed him. Since our advent he has not preached. Whenever he thinks that sin is stirring within him, he resorts to blood-letting or takes a purgative and then fancies that he is rid of the evil and acceptable to God.<sup>137</sup> He does not see the need of a Redeemer. So great is the blindness and the power of darkness over these people, that when they hear a heathenish sermon they understand and comprehend. Toward the gospel their understanding is darkened, so that they are incapable of anything good. Another Indian preacher, living not far from here, alleges that he has been in heaven and so near to God that he heard the cocks of the heavenly city crow. Thereupon he turned about and came back, so that he had not actually seen God.

On the 28th one of the families of Indians built a hut near our house. Their own place was too far away and they wished to attend our daily services. Old Sarah visited us again and told us more of her distress. We can do little for her so long as she does not dwell nearer our settlement. Both she and Elizabeth are constant attendants at our meetings. An Onondago Indian, who knows me, came to the town with a message. As there

was no one here who could speak with him, I had to act the interpreter. He brought a String of Wampum from a Minque [Mingo] Chief, who since last fall had been hunting two days' journey from here. He is not able to return to his home because of the illness of his wife. They ask for some corn, as they are entirely out of provisions.

The Indian visited me again on the 29th and I made him an Indian calendar, so that he might know when it was Sunday, for he was baptized at Gachnawage, in Canada, by a Frenchman. The Indians here gave him several bushels of corn, which they had collected. The Chief who lives six miles from here came, also. He has been in our meetings at various times. He gave us his opinion in the matter of sending a message to the Seneca Chief, at Zoneschio. He regarded it as unnecessary that we should make the journey thither, because the Chief of the Senecas expected soon to come here, then we should hear how the matter stood, and whether the Indians could dwell here longer or would have to move farther on. The Senecas seem to have in mind the selling of this land to the English and then moving further west themselves. Sir Wm. Johnson having long desired them to do this.<sup>138</sup> He intimated, further, that there would soon be another treaty at Pittsburg, on which occasion all the governors of the neighboring provinces would assemble.<sup>139</sup> We can hardly believe the latter statement to be well founded, except it be that the English have in mind establishing a large settlement along the Ohio.<sup>140</sup> He, also, brought the news that the Delamattenos,<sup>141</sup> whose territory borders on this, and the western Indians were anxious to begin war again and that in three Indian towns up along the Lakes they had already killed all the traders. The latter rumor we have heard every year in Friedenshuetten, so long as that settlement has been in existence. God grant that their counsels may come to nought, and may peace be preserved to us. This evening there was a total eclipse of the moon, over which the Indians were much exercised, because they believed that it foreshadowed some evil. Many came and asked what this phenomenon signified, and when we told them that it was something quite in the usual order of events and that it certainly portended no evil, they were comforted.

On the 30th we moved into our newly built house. It stands in the open and measures 26 ft. x 16 ft., so that ordinarily we will have room enough in it for our meetings. The Onondago Indian visited me again. I discussed various matters with him and asked, among other things, what had led him to allow himself to be baptized. He replied that the priest who had baptized him had said that if he would be saved he must be baptized. I asked him, further, whether he now believed that he would be saved. He replied that the priest had always told them that whoever would live a good life and avoid evil would eventually attain to heaven; for this reason he was keeping himself from all that he believed to be evil. I told him very plainly that he needed a Saviour and that his baptism would avail him nothing without the Saviour. He answered that both he and his comrade would be glad to hear about the Saviour. The whole family has been baptized, and, so soon as they are able, they intend to return to Onondago. He seemed a very decent fellow, appeared to be very much attached to me and took leave in a very friendly manner, as they expected to start early on the morrow. He hoped that he might meet me again and have the opportunity of conversing further.

On the 1st of July we held a service in our new house. Many Indians were present. Anton and Abraham spoke very earnestly to the assembled.

On the 3rd of July the Indian preacher, who is, also, a physician, arranged an Indian play in the town, for the benefit of an ailing woman.<sup>142</sup> For this reason very few came to our meeting.

On the 4th the Indian preacher visited us and once more permitted himself to get into a discussion with us, this time concerning his practices as a doctor. It seemed as though he were not quite satisfied with the play he had arranged yesterday and wanted to know our opinion. I told him very plainly that all his medical practice and quackery were of the devil and an abomination to God, that he was unable to cure a single person of illness so long as he did not forswear the devil and all his works, casting himself at the feet of the Saviour to beg for mercy and pardon. Thereupon he went quietly away. An old woman of the town, who is very hostile toward us, preaches industriously

against us, persuading her people that whoever will go to our meetings will be tempted of the devil and greatly troubled. We have many enemies here, more than we had thought, particularly among the women. These seek in every possible way to turn the people against us, so that they may not attend our meetings.<sup>143</sup> Satan seems to have great power over the children of unbelief. They say among other things, "What is this? they speak always of the Saviour's blood; we cannot understand this nor know what it is." Their hearts are truly darkened.<sup>144</sup>

On the 5th our Indians went out to hunt, returning in the evening with two bears. Our evening meeting was very well attended.

On the 6th several of those who attend our meetings regularly came, complaining that their friends had turned against them because of their friendliness to us. These had told them that rather than go to our meetings they should go far away to Gekalemukpechuenk,<sup>145</sup> that is to the region along the River where Post had lived. There they have four Indian preachers, are building a meeting house and are doing their utmost to perpetuate pagan customs and practices.<sup>146</sup> Children are forbidden to come to us. Our place is avoided by many, is hated by them and a cause of vexation. Some old women in the town say, "Why have these people come to us; let them return to their own home, we do not want to hear about their God." Thus enmity is being stirred up against the gospel. Many are afraid to visit our house during the day-time and come only at night. Others do not come at all, fearing disgrace. Yet we continue to hold our meetings. There are always some present. Occasionally, our meetings are so well attended that there is hardly room for all. Will it be possible for the hostile ones to hinder the work of the Lord? No, they will not succeed.

On the 8th several of our Christian Indians moved the hut of an old woman, who wishes to attend our services and is not able to walk any distance, next to our house. A Mohok [Mohawk] who has fought four years in the war against the Cherokees and is now on his way back to Canatschochari,<sup>147</sup> his home, visited me. He told me that his occupation and activity for the past four years has been nothing but the killing of men.<sup>148</sup>

The Indian preacher who now begins to avoid our meetings, visited Anton. He still contends that he has seen God, Who has given him the power to heal, if he but breathe upon the sick. Anton told him that if he did not know the God of the Cross, then he had no God and knew nothing of Him.

Our service on the 10th was largely attended. From without we hear of nothing but hostility. Many Indians down along the River and here in the Town say that we whites should be killed. Others declare that we should all be thrown into the Ohio and sent to Fort Pitt, to the whites there. Those who are friendly toward us fear that the enemies might some night attack us and slaughter us all. While Satan is thus stirring up the heathen against us, the eye of the Watcher over Israel is upon us. Conditions here are very different from those along the Susquehannah, where the power of evil has been largely broken. At the time of our arrival there was nothing but joy at our coming, but now many would rather help stone us away.

On the 11th the old woman, who was moved next to us, told us how she had been benefited by the gospel message. When a year ago we spent some time two miles from here, she had not been able to attend our meetings. But at the time of our departure, as we had passed through this town, she had seen us from a distance and had been very sad to see us go, because she believed that we should be able to tell her the right way of salvation. Since then she had always prayed earnestly that we might return.

On the 12th our meeting was quite well attended. Many stood without, so that their presence at the meeting might not be noticed.

On the 13th Anton went into the lower town, six miles from here to fetch corn which the people there had contributed to us. There he saw a white woman, who had once been sent to Fort Pitt. She had, however, immediately made her escape and returned.

On the 14th Anton and Abraham went out to hunt. In the evening they returned with a bear. The first named conducted the evening service.

On the 15th various Indians returned from the chase and

visited us at the time of our service. There are many men and women here who declare that they have seen God and know Him. These say that whoever believes in our God must become the slave of the whites. It is said that the Indian preacher of this place does not attend our services any longer because his sister is ill, and she is reported to have said that if her brother continues to attend our services it will cause her death. She is one of those who is very hostile to our work. If any of the Indians would tell her anything about us or our God, they are immediately bidden to be silent, as she declares that she would die were she to hear anything about us or our meetings, because the devil dwells in our house.

On the 16th we finished our work on the plantations. This has occupied us for the whole week.

The text of the sermon on the 17th was the story of Thomas, which I read to the worshippers out of the Delaware translation. Many seemed to be touched. In the afternoon we paddled several miles up the River to a place where a large Creek empties into the Ohio from the east. Just opposite the mouth of the Creek there is a fine large island, which is separated from the western bank by a narrow arm of the River. The soil of the island appears to be very good for plantation purposes. Nearly all the other islands, and there are many, are used for plantation purposes. On this island there is but one family, which would be very glad if we were to settle there. Indeed, the members of this family have said that if we should move away they would go along. On the east bank of the River, near this island, there is a fine spring. This is a very important circumstance, because in summer time the water of the Ohio is very bad. On one side of the Creek there is, also, very fine low land for plantation purposes. Wood there is in plenty, for the forest is very thick. This suits the Indians, because they are not obliged to go far for wood. Pasturage, too, is good. There would be enough plantation land for sixteen or more families.<sup>149</sup> The reason why we have come upon the thought to seek a place for ourselves here is this. We see no other course open to us. Since our coming here I have urged that the Indians, at least, those who are friendly to us, should send a message to the Seneca

Chief, concerning our being here and concerning our future dwelling-place. We have offered to go with them, but all in vain. No one wished to take an interest in the matter. No one wished to be troubled about it. We alone can not do it, for we are too few. Furthermore, the circumstances have changed very much. We are surrounded by the bitterest enemies, who would any day put us out of the way if they dared to do it. Those who are well disposed toward us look on to see what will happen. As we see ourselves thus left to our own devices, our thoughts naturally turn to some place where we might remain for a year or two. It is necessary that we consider the matter now, because further on toward fall it is much more difficult to build houses.

On the 18th, after the morning prayers, we had a conversation with Sarah and Elizabeth. In them the work of grace seems to progress. They begged very earnestly that they might be permitted to dwell near us, because it was impossible to live longer among the savages. We resolved, therefore, to bring their hut out of the town and put it up near our own. For this they were very grateful. They had thought of moving to Friedenshuetten, and this would have met with our approval. Finally, however, they determined to remain here with us. Today we paddled several miles down the Ohio, in order to examine another place where there is some flat land. This will not suit our purposes, because it is very limited in area and there is no water except that in the River. The land between here and Onenge is of such a nature that no town can be established. The Trader who had been here a month ago, came again, this time from Loyalhanning. This evening there arrived a String of Wampum together with a red painted stick that had several notches, meant to signify a rod with a leaden ball, besides the message: "Cousins who dwell in Goschgoschuenk! you have cause to fear, for your position is very dangerous." All were alarmed at the message. Fear and terror seized the Indians. No one could think what this could mean, nor whence it had come.

On the 19th Allemewi, the blind chief who had been on the way to Friedenshuetten, returned, having heard on the road of our arrival here. For this we were very glad, for he is the only chief who has any influence here. We regarded it as most provi-

dential that he had returned. He and his wife were glad to find us here and spent the night with us. He was very sorry to hear that so many Indians had turned against us and become hostile. The Indians are still very much exercised over the message that arrived yesterday. One of them came to our house twice during the past night, bringing his Tomhak, imagining that he had already seen and heard some one who wanted to kill him. He took refuge with us. On such occasions it can readily be seen how faint-hearted the Indians are.

On the 20th we announced at the morning prayer service that in future we would conduct the evening service earlier, by light of day, because for several days the evening meetings had been disturbed, which had given occasion for grave apprehension. Though all may have been quiet at the beginning of the services, the Indians had several times during the service made such a noise nearby, that it sounded as if a whole regiment were being cut down without mercy. All the men went down to the island, two miles from here, with the Minquas who had brought the message, in order to consider further the tidings that had been sent. We went along and I proceeded immediately to converse with the Mingoes, all three of whom knew me. Two of them are Onondagos and one is a Cayuga. Last spring they had passed through Friedenshuetten with the Cherokees, and now they had come up the Ohio. They had received the message in Onenge from a Seneca Chief and brought it hither. Whence it had come we could not rightly learn, except that it had either come from Wilawane, on the Tiaogu or from Cayuga. We saw clearly that the message was meant for our Christian Indians, who had come hither from Friedenshuetten. It was a warning to them. I spoke at some length with the three Indians, telling them of the purpose of our settling here. As I saw that the Cayuga was a sensible man, I sent a message by him to the Cayuga Chief, announcing to him my arrival here in Goschgoschuenk. I had come hither because there were Indians here who wished to hear the Word of our God, they having invited me to come, and, because I could not speak their language and needed an interpreter, I had brought two families from Friedenshuetten with me to assist me. They had not, therefore, left Friedenshuetten,

because they did not like it there, but to serve the Indians here with the gospel. He should not, for this reason, think that the Indians of Friedenshuetten had any intention of turning from his camp-fire; they would hold to it as heretofore, so long as they were not driven away by war or other circumstances.

Allemewi, also, sent a message in our behalf to the Seneca Chief, at Zoneschio, with the words "Uncle! I inform you herewith that several of our friends have come to us with two white brethren, whom we invited to come to tell us the good word of our God and Creator. You have frequently sent us word that we should lead a good life and hold to the good. This we have thus far not observed. But now we are determined to live otherwise, to put away heathenish practices, such as feasts, dancing and drinking, and our brethren who have come to us shall instruct us in the word of God. Recently, several of your people traveled through here. They became very angry and dissatisfied because we had invited whites to visit us, saying that 'soon many will follow, in order to build a city and take the land.' This we have no occasion to fear, for no more than two will come to this place. In case you do not approve of their being here and decide that the brethren who have come to us shall not remain here, then they will return or go to some other place. I and many of our people will follow them whithersoever they may go, for it is our intention to believe in God." The Cayuga to whom this message was delivered received it very well, and in parting he gave the Indians earnest exhortation, saying, that they were undertaking a great thing, viz., the matter of believing in God, that their intention was good, and that they should attend the meetings regularly and give ear to my instructions. Many of the Indians heard his words.

On the 21st this Indian came to me very early and related that Allemewi had, also, given him a message to the Cayuga Chief, one point of which disagreed with my message. I knew nothing of this message, for I had not been present when it had been delivered. The point in question concerned our Friedenshuetten Indians, viz., that those with me had all their friends in Friedenshuetten and that they would be glad to welcome them all here. He wanted to know which words he should believe.

I told him that he should believe my words, for it had never entered our minds that our Indians should remove from Friedenshuetten, except in case the Six Nations sold the land or in the event a war should break out, so that they could no longer live there in peace. I wished, however, to speak with Allemewi, so that the message might be differently worded. I had them meet and discussed the matter with them. Accordingly, the message was made to read as follows: "Uncle! We have heard the hard words, concerning which you may know whence they come, viz., that we Indians in Goschgoschuenk had reason to fear, because we were in danger. We know of no fear nor danger, for only recently there has been a Treaty in Fort Pitt, according to which all difficulties were settled and peace established. We know, therefore, of nothing; perhaps you know better, let us, therefore, also, know." Thereupon he continued: "Last fall a white brother, whom you know very well, came to us with two of our friends from Friedenshuetten, and they have brought us the good words of our God and Creator. We received these words and on that occasion invited them to come to us again, in order to instruct us further. He, accordingly, returned this spring and brought two of his friends with him, because he is not able to speak our language. These two are to be his interpreters. We are minded to believe, to lead another life and agree entirely with our friends in Friedenshuetten. You must not, therefore, think evil of it that two of our friends have come hither. It does not follow that the others at Friedenshuetten will likewise come to this region." With this the Cayuga was satisfied and said that it was quite right. He had wished to start today with his company. As he had, however, remained so long on account of this business, he decided to remain for the rest of the day. This being the case, we considered the matter of sending another message to the Seneca Chief, in regard to our future dwelling-place, for which the land along the Onenge had occurred to us. But as we saw that the Indians rather hesitated and were inclined to wait for the present until they should learn what answer the first message would bring, we left the matter for the time being. At the same time they spoke with the Cayuga about it and commissioned him to tell

the Seneca Chief that this was not a good place for them, because they could not live together and could not attend the meetings when they wished to do so. They sent, also, a String of Wampum with the request that he should not permit his people to bring rum hither, for they wished to be rid of all that sort of thing. The Cayuga promised to deliver our messages faithfully and to represent our cause before the Six Nations as well as he could.

On the 22nd he left. As we now knew that we should be obliged to spend the winter here, no other arrangements being possible, we resolved to build another small house for ourselves, so that we might sometimes be alone, for our large house is never without visitors. I sent a letter by the trader from Ligonier, or Loyalhanning to Matthew Hehl, in Lititz, as this trader intends, after visiting his home, to go to Lancaster. I learned today that the six sons of the chief in the lower town, six miles distant, had taken counsel together to kill me. I must admit that I had premonition of such a thing, and I have prayed earnestly that, if such a thing were to happen, it might not be while a service was going on. God be praised that these anxious days are passed, things are better, even though we are surrounded by enemies.

On the 23rd the members of our company fished. They caught many fish of a variety quite unknown to us.

The service on the 24th was well attended. Among those present were several friends from Attike,<sup>150</sup> not far from Pittsburgh. They were very attentive.

On the 26th Allemewi had an interview with us. He declared it to be his intention to live for the Saviour. He was minded to resign his office as Chief, because he thought its functions might prevent his carrying out his intentions. We counselled him not to give up his office to another but to seek to serve the Lord, while discharging its functions. We had witnessed in his absence how evil flourished. Since his return our enemies are more quiet, for they fear him. He tells everyone openly that he is of the same mind as we are. Those who remained well-disposed toward us but had at times lost courage, because we were hated so heartily, are now of better courage and hope for

better times. The Chief and his wife are with us every evening, so that they may be able to attend the services. They live on the island, two miles down stream.

On the 27th the Indians of the neighborhood had a spirits—or ghosts-feast, on which occasion a hog was sacrificed.<sup>151</sup> Such sacrifices are occasionally arranged by the Indian doctors, who allege that the spirits are dissatisfied and must be appeased by the sacrifice of a hog, a deer or a bear. The feast takes place at night in a house that is entirely dark. In course of the feast, the doctor converses with the spirits, gives them of the flesh and, afterwards, declares that the spirits have been reconciled, whereupon the Indians disperse. Allemewi had an interview with us. He wishes to build a hut near us, so that he may always be with us. He has many children and grandchildren, but they are not of his mind, clinging to their heathenish practices. For this reason he wishes to leave them and live near us. He would like best of all to live with his daughter, in Friedenshuetten, who is married to one of our Christian Indians there, Jacob by name.

On the 28th he moved into our house, where he will remain until he can build a hut of his own. Twenty-eight warriors, Cayugas and Senecas, passed through here on their return from the war with the Cherokees. They had three scalps, which they bore in triumph before them, fixed to a pole.

On the 29th our Indians brought the hut of Sarah and Elizabeth out of the town and set it up near our house. Various of the visiting warriors, who knew me, visited me, the son of the Cayuga Chief, among the rest. With the latter I spoke at length concerning our coming hither, explaining the reason therefore. He said that in two or three years probably all the Indians along the Ohio would be Christians. I heard, also, that he had spoken with an Indian who understands their language and who attends our services regularly, promising to make it a point to hear the Word of God and go regularly to the meetings. He said, further, that the Indians would do well to visit Cayuga in the spring to talk over the matter with his father. The visitors asked me to assist them in securing provisions for their journey. On that account I went into the town to speak with the captains.<sup>152</sup>

Provisions will be secured, and, as one of the visitors is ill, a canoe was furnished as well.

On the 30th we began with the building of our house. We peeled bark and fetched it to the building place.

On the 1st of August a great Bunch of Wampum (that is as many Strings of Wampum as one can hold in the hand) arrived, with the following message from the Seneca Chief: "Cousins, who dwell in Goschgoschuenk and along the Ohio and you Shawanose! I have arisen and looked about me, to find out what is going on in the land. I have seen that somebody in a black coat has arrived, beware of the black coat. Believe not what he tells you, for he will pervert and alienate your hearts." In conclusion, he desired that we should let him know what our intention was. Our message to him had not yet reached him, the messengers having met on the road. It was well that we had sent off our message before receiving his. Something of the kind I had expected, so that I would gladly have prevented it, but I, had not been able to do anything, as none of the Indians would have anything to do with our affairs until the arrival of Allemewi. We alone could do nothing; it was necessary that the Indians should declare their intention, otherwise our word would signify nothing. In his message the Chief would stir up all the Indians along the Ohio, and even the Shawanose, who dwell two hundred miles below Pittsburg, against us. May the Lord help us! for we are here at His call and command.

Aug. 3rd. Yesterday and today we paddled several miles up the River in order to make hay. Since the arrival of the message of the Seneca Chief, many absent themselves from our meetings. The Indian preacher shows now what is in him, for he goes from house to house, forbidding the Indians to attend our meetings, because the Minquas had forbidden it. If they had been ordered to do something good, they would surely not have done it, but since it is something that appeals to their evil passions, they are in haste to obey.

On the 4th we were obliged to remain at home, on account of rain. Anton and Abraham preached to the visitors we had during the day. In spite of all the difficult circumstances we

have been called upon to face, the courage of these men has not faltered. Peter resolved to return to Friedenshuettten with his wife, because they find it too hard and uncertain to remain here. We do not try to dissuade them, because it is, indeed, hard for any who have not been inspired with supreme confidence from on high.

An Indian acquainted us with his desire to build a house near to us, so that he might with his wife and children be able to attend our services regularly.

On the 6th after the early service, I spoke to a small company of Indians, who are faithful to us, encouraging them to believe that even though our condition was very precarious, it was in the power of the Lord to change this very quickly. We would pray to Him that He would give us a place where we might dwell in peace. If the Minquas will not suffer our abiding here, most of those who seek something different will move to Friedenshuettten.

On the 7th the preaching service was disturbed by a couple of young savages, who came before our house and made a great outcry and noise. Abraham went out and spoke with them, telling them that we were conducting a service and that they should desist from their disturbance. But they carried on so much the more. We were obliged to close the service and separate.

On the 8th these fellows made it known that they would kill any one of our number who would undertake to prevent them in anything they did, and they made known other evil designs against us. Today Gatschenis, husband of Anne Johanna's sister, set up his house near us. He and his wife and brother, who moves to our settlement, also, are concerned about their salvation. Allemewi sent today a String of Wampum down the River, as far as Pittsburg, with a message to all the Indians, that they are to bring no rum hither. We both went down to the island to our plantation. Abraham soon followed us and warned us not to go alone in this fashion, because the two young savages had evil designs upon us. He remained with us, until we went home. We have discontinued our evening meetings until such time when there will be more calm and quiet. The morning services we will continue, as it is generally quiet at that time of day. One learns

to appreciate here what a blessing it is to enjoy freedom of worship. We trust that the Lord will permit us to enjoy this favor even here. For the present we close our diary and commend ourselves and this whole region, where darkness rules, to the prayerful interest and remembrance of the Church.

CONTINUATION OF THE DIARY OF THE BRETHREN IN  
GOSCHGOSCHUENK ON THE OHIO, AUGUST, 1768.

On the 9th of August we wrote letters to Bethlehem. Several Indians met in a house in our neighborhood, among them the Indian preacher. They called in Anton, Allemewi and myself, to consider what was to be done about the two young savages who had threatened to kill some of our number. We sent two men out of the counsel to talk with these fellows in the presence of their friends, letting them know that we would gladly live in peace with them, not interfering with them, and that we hoped that they might treat us in a similar manner. If ever they had been engaged in the dance or in a Kentekey, we had not disturbed them or made any trouble; would they not let us alone in our meetings, within or without our own house? The Indians were free people and the slaves of no one; they ought to allow to each freedom in matters of faith, and to attend the dance or Kentekey or to be present at our meetings. The two men returned after a while, having succeeded in settling the difficulty. The two young savages promised not to repeat their disturbances. Inasmuch as all the Indians who were gathered on this occasion were such as daily attended our services, except the Indian preacher who does not attend any of our meetings now, they considered, further, the message of the Seneca Chief, which forbade all Indians to come and hear me. They made the following proposal: They would send a message to the two Delaware Chiefs at Kaskaskank,<sup>153</sup> on the Beaver Creek, which empties into the Ohio below Pittsburg, acquainting them with their desire to live differently in the future and to hear the gospel which was being preached to them by the brethren whom they had with them. They did not doubt that they would gladly receive them and, in case they received their consent, would move thither this fall. These two chiefs are said to be peaceable, to avoid entanglement

in wars, to listen to no Indian preachers and to be desirous of leading a good life. The land in question, which is said to be excellent, was given by the Delamattenos to the Delawares to live upon and lies three days' journey from here to the west-south-west. It is possible to reach it by water, though in a very round-about way. They asked me what I thought of the proposal and whether it pleased me, for the Minquas never wished the gospel to be preached here, hence they would rather move elsewhere so that they might hear the Word of God without hindrance. I answered that I had nothing against their sending a message to these Indians, letting them know that the Moravians were here and that the people would gladly become Christians and lead a different life; indeed I said that it would be good to send such a message. But concerning moving to another place I thought it best to wait until we had had an answer from the Seneca Chief. If this were not favorable to us, we might, then, consider this matter further. They were persuaded to let the matter rest here and were satisfied with my answer.

On the 10th Peter and his wife started back for Friedenshuetten, by way of Great-Island, on the West Branch of the Susquehannah. Sarah and her daughter, Elizabeth, went with them. The latter had been living near us for some time, but now that an opportunity presented itself, they were glad to move to Friedenshuetten. We had no objection to their doing so.

On the 11th a Seneca visited me. In the evening he was present at our meeting. As feeling does not now run so high, we have ventured to conduct our evening meetings again.

At the Sunday service on the 14th there were again a number of strangers. Sunday is, with those who live near us and others who are friendly toward us, a holiday. There are about twenty who meet with us daily, others come now and then.

On the 16th there came a hostile message from Gekelemuk-pechuenk, along the River where Post had formerly lived. The message contained a threat that did not exactly concern us. They did not know what the Indians here were doing. For their part, they did not intend to desist from witchcraft until sixty of the Indians living here were dead. Then they would stop. The reason for this singular message was not given. In the opinion

of most, it concerned the Indian preacher and perhaps a few others. It seems that during last winter many of the people in Gekelemukpechuenk died and, according to the story of old Sarah, it often often happened that as many as six were buried in one day. They accuse Wangomen, that is the Indian preacher here, of having brought this about through his magic art, for he visited there last year and is said to have given the people there occasion by his speech for believing this of him. The message frightened and terrified the Indians considerably and was the subject of lengthy discussions. In the end neither we nor the Indians allowed ourselves to be intimidated by this or similar messages. We were never able to find out why they were sent though it was probably on our account. Generally, they were productive of nothing but uneasiness and fright.

The sister of Wangomen died today. Up to the end she remained hostile toward us and was the means of causing much mischief among the Indians.

On the 17th Anton and Abraham went a day's journey from here into the woods, in order to make canoes which we shall need to harvest our corn on the islands. We did not consider it advisable that Senseman and I should remain here alone, because we did not know what might happen. We, therefore, went along. Johanna remained at home with Allemewi and his wife and the old widow. Three families went with us to the woods, and during the entire time of our staying there we had our daily services.

On the 25th we returned. We found that Mr. Crawford<sup>154</sup> and Andrew Montour<sup>155</sup> and some twenty odd Shawanose had arrived on their way to Sir William Johnson, who had invited them to a Treaty with the Six Nations.<sup>156</sup> He praised my undertaking to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the true faith but added that this was not a good place for our purpose, for he could not see how the Indians could dwell together here. The region is a poor one for a settlement, and he had learned from various of the Indians here that they were considering moving to another and better place. He advised us to go down the Ohio to a place about 16 miles above Pittsburg, where there is said to be a good spot for a settlement. I learned from him that the

present treaty contemplated a purchase of extensive territory. It appears that for several years negotiations have been pending for the the purchase of all the land on the east side of the Ohio from the Six Nations.<sup>157</sup> If there is any truth in this, then the matter will no doubt concern our settlement in Friedenshuetten.

On the 26th our visitors bade us farewell, wishing us success in our undertaking. They expect to travel through the Seneca country, by way of Cayuga and Onondago. The Indians are generally of the opinion that if this land-sale, on the part of the Six Nations, should be consummated, a war will be inevitable. For even if the Seneca Chief consents to sell the land that Johnson has wished to have for several years he would do so unwillingly. They say, further, that should the land be sold, the entire Seneca Nation and those of the Six Nations that are not favorable to the whites would move away far to the west, after which the war with the whites should begin. One may not credit all that one hears among the Indians, but it is said to be certain that this is the project of the Six Nations and, particularly, of the Senecas. I received a letter from Mr. Milligan,<sup>157½</sup> of Pittsburg, in which he informed me that he had as yet received no letters for me. He promises to send me any that should come to hand by the first opportunity. We are conducting our meetings as usual. The people attend them very faithfully. Traders arrived here again from Loyalhanning. In the evening they were present at our service.

On the 29th we had many visitors at our house, Anton preached with great fervor. We began building the house in which we expect to spend the winter. A new falsehood is making the rounds among the Indians. It is alleged that Indians of New England had been across the Sea and had returned with a letter from the King of England addressed to all the Indians of America, in which they were warned against the Brethren from Bethlehem. They were told not to believe us, for we would lead them straight to hell. This report makes its way among all the Indians along the Ohio and is accepted as truth. It is hardly credible that such lies should be hatched out among the Indians. They are received and believed with avidity.

On the 30th a message was despatched to Kaskaskunk with

reference to the threatening words received fourteen days ago. Allemewi, the calm chief, was deputed to attend to the matter and to inquire why such words had been sent.

On the 31st we finished the log walls of our house. We are not much disturbed at present, for since the message from Gekelemukpechuenk arrived, the Indians have other things to think about. The meetings during the last few days have been attended by but few.

On the 3rd of September most of the men who live near us went away for several days to hunt. Abraham is engaged in building a canoe for himself. Anton remains with us. The services are statedly held.

At the preaching service on the 4th there were several Indians from Kittannink<sup>158</sup> and, also, some from these towns in our neighborhood who had never attended any of our meetings. All were very attentive. The Chief of the lower town was here to confer with Allemewi. He was present at our evening service, as was an Indian from Kaskaskunk and two whites from Pittsburg, the latter on their way to look up stolen horses. They informed me that this summer there had been two Presbyterian ministers among the Indians in Gekelemukpechuenk. The Indians had, however, not received them and sent them back. On the Mississippi, at Fort Carteret, from which place one of the two had only recently come, there is said to be a considerable settlement of French Swiss. It is said that the English keep a thousand soldiers continually in this fort. According to report, the fort lies about 1,600 miles to the west of here.

On the 7th we finished our house, but we have not yet moved into it. It is provided with a chimney and with an upper floor, for which we split the boards ourselves. It is the only house of the kind in these parts and pleases the Indians very much, many of them coming to examine it.

On the 11th a party of Senecas arrived. They visited me, and I soon learned that they had brought rum. I had Allemewi speak with them. He forbade them to sell any. I was obliged to serve as interpreter. They promised to go on the next day and assured us that they would not sell any of their rum. One of them asked me whether the Indians of the neighborhood came

regularly into the meetings and whether I baptized. He added that it was very good that the Indians heard the word of God gladly, which he probably said in order to please me.

Early on the 12th they started from here. True to their promise they had not sold any rum.

On the 13th Abraham and Salome returned from canoe-making. A number of the Indians came back from the chase. These visited us, and Abraham and Anton preached to them, as is their custom whenever we have visitors.

Just as the early service was to begin on the 14th, I received letters from Bethlehem and Lititz, by way of Pittsburg, dated the 9th of August. They gave me great joy. On the very same day I had despatched letters, with Peter as the messenger, to Bethlehem, by way of Friedenshuetten. Apparently, my letters of June and July sent with traders, by way of Loyalhanning, had not yet arrived or had gone astray altogether. In future I shall be more careful about entrusting letters to traders. Senseman and I moved into our new house today. In the evening we had a special meeting with our Christian Indians, informing them that on the following Saturday we would celebrate the Holy Communion. Hitherto, we had not been able to arrange for such a service, because we had no place where we could meet privately. I, also, conveyed to them the greetings and messages from Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz.

On the 16th we had a conference with the Christian Indians, relative to our work among the heathen Indians. We have been laboring among these people for three months and can see but little fruit of our labors. Those who are well-disposed toward us or dwell near us hear the Word gladly. More we cannot say in regard to the results of our work.

During the forenoon of the 17th we had many visitors, more hunters having returned. Our Christian Indians spoke much with them. They, also, discussed with them the matter of our having a better place for our own settlement, so that those who wished to hear might come and that we might not be subject to the disturbances of the savages. Later in the day we held our Communion service.

On the 18th it would hardly have been necessary to have

a special preaching service, as our Indian Christians preached from early morn onward to those who came to hear. It seems, after all, that our message is not in vain. This is a source of much encouragement. In the afternoon I called together the men who live near us and few others and sought to make it clear to them, particularly to Allemewi and Gendaskund,<sup>159</sup> who are the two captains here, that it would be necessary to send a message to the Seneca Chief, telling him clearly and unmistakably what our intention is and what we desired of him. They had put off this matter the whole summer, telling me that either the chief would come himself or send an answer to our first message. I doubted very much whether we should receive an answer this fall, unless we should go to him. If I waited longer for them, both they and I would, in the end, be deceived. This fall it would be necessary for us to know how we stood with him and whither we might expect to move in the spring. I was fully resolved not to spend another summer here, because the place was not favorable to our work. I did not doubt that we should receive from the Chief what we desired, for he must know that in case of refusal, a number of the Indians at this place, if not the most, would go away and leave his land unoccupied, yes, even cut themselves loose from him altogether. Therefore, they should consider the matter, how they would join us in sending a message; I would speak for myself and my brethren in Friedenshuetten and Bethlehem, but they must speak to the Chief for themselves. What they really desired to say and propose, I took to be this: they were minded to lead another and a better life than heretofore; they wished to hear the Word about our God and Creator and, therefore, they desired to be in a more suitable place than this, a place where they might dwell together as a community and be rid of the disturbances of the savages, with their drinking, dancing and their Kentekes—all of which things they desired to be rid of. They should, therefore, request of him that they might settle along the Onenge where it is possible to establish a decent town, the place to be reserved for those who would lead a godly life. Others who persisted in clinging to their heathenish practices should be allowed to remain here. I told them, in addition, that I did not

consider it necessary, not even advisable, that they should invite other Indians, who did not desire to live and do differently, as for example, the Indian preacher and the Chief of the lower town, to take counsel with them in this matter. For they would only do all they could to confuse and hinder this business, so that it might come to nothing. Besides, they were in no position to speak for the Christian Indians, for they did not care to know anything about our message. Allemewi and the Indians about here would be quite able to straighten out this matter. They thought well of my proposals and discussed them very thoroughly. They returned, however, to their former plan, saying, "Why is it necessary to ask the Seneca Chief for land; there is land which the Dellamattenos have given us, we have but to move there this fall; besides, the Chief has forbidden us to listen to your words." I said to them, "No, this will not do; we must think not only of ourselves, but, also, of our congregation in Friedenshuetten. If we were to cut loose from the Six Nations, we might not have to suffer for it, but the Six Nations would be very angry, and, in all likelihood, the people in Friedenshuetten would be made to feel their displeasure, as they have already been obliged to undergo some hardships on our account. I would, therefore, listen to no other project until we had done what I now insisted upon. They, finally, agreed with me and resolved to arrange for the journey as soon as possible.

On the 19th the Indians of our company went hunting with the Indians who have settled near us. They returned on the 20th.

On the 22nd Allemewi spoke at length with Anton and Abraham about spiritual things. The hearts of this man and many others seem to be touched.

A party of Senecas arrived here on the 23rd. One of them, after they had visited us, expressed himself as follows to one of our Indians. Their Chief feared nothing else than that a great many white people might follow us and take possession of the land. On this occasion I sought to impress upon our people again how exceedingly necessary it was that we should make the journey to the Chief and inform him fully about all things concerning us. At the evening service there were several people from the lower town, where daily there is much drinking. It is

certainly a blessing that we are spared that kind of thing here. Allemewi's message concerning rum has accomplished something. There are a number of people in the lower town who would like to attend our services, they are, however, afraid, because the chief there is opposed to us. Similarly, there are people here who would be glad to come but fear disgrace, therefore, they remain away or come only at night. In the lower town there are several families of the Misquaehki Nation,<sup>160</sup> who have been at our meetings. It is said that this Nation numbers at the present time only about a thousand. The main body of these people live further to the west, and their speech is half Shawanose. Formerly, they had a French priest among them. As they wanted to get rid of him, they murdered all the French who were with him, then twisted his hands and sent him home. Thereupon, the French fell upon them, desolated a whole town and killed all its inhabitants. The rest sued for peace, which was granted them.

On the 25th the old widow, whom I have had occasion to mention several times, visited us, telling us how our message had touched her. Several traders who arrived here yesterday attended the preaching service. A certain Indian who has been ill for more than a year (whom the Indian doctors had persuaded that he dare not be seen of anyone but themselves nor dare see any one) in order that he might recover, and who had observed their directions until we had come, was very anxious to see us. He stood, therefore, from afar and looked at us as he was sheltered behind the trees, then he ventured to come nearer and listen to our words. At last he visited us, spoke with us and was very friendly. Today he attended a service openly for the first time. Those Indians who would be glad to see us leave this region are now comforting themselves, so we heard today, with the hope that the Governor in Philadelphia will soon recall us.

On the 27th a Seneca arrived with the news that the Senecas had undertaken a journey to Johnson, for the purpose of making a Treaty, but had faced about in Cayuga because they had heard that the English were not friendly toward them. They had, then, sent four deputies to learn whether this were true.<sup>161</sup> This seems again to put a stop to our journey to the Seneca Chief. Hardly

has one hindrance been overcome, when there is another. When the Indians hear such a report they are so taken up and filled with it that they are stricken with terror. Late in the evening after all our company had gone to sleep, we had an unpleasant visit from several evil-minded Indians from the lower town, who had formerly intended to kill us. What the intention of their visit on this occasion, so late at night, may have been is unknown to us. They were painted red and their heads were feathered. Their visit gave us much disquiet.

On the 28th the men of our company went hunting, returning with two deer.

On the 1st of October I learned that an Indian preacher from Gekellemuckpechuenk had arrived to confound me in such a manner that no Indian would ever hear me again. The place whence he comes is said to be a stronghold of heathenism, where witchcraft flourishes. The Indian inhabitants themselves say that they have personal communication with the devil, who instructs them in the dark art. If any one visits them and tries to instruct them in the Word of God, they will not even entertain him for the night, his very life is in danger. For this reason, they drove old Samuel from their town, because occasionally he would speak of the Saviour. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that heathenism is so strongly entrenched here, since it is so much worse in other places. We may well be thankful that thus far we have been preserved from danger. A woman said to an old widow, who lives near us, "No doubt, you will soon be baptized, then a special spirit will come upon you." There is more of such mockery, so that one may well hesitate to baptize any one in this place, even should an individual desire it.

At the preaching service on the 2nd there were a number of Indians who had come up the River, also, three white traders.

On the 3rd Abraham and others went down the River to hunt for several days. Many of the Indians of the town did the same, so that the place seems deserted.

On the 5th I had a conversation with Benjamin, in order to learn whether he would care to go with us to the Seneca Chief. He is a kind of a chief here and is ready of speech. On another occasion he had expressed himself as desirous of living near us,

in case we should have the matter of location settled. He seems willing to journey with us. No one is glad to go, but when the matter has been settled and satisfactorily arranged, they will all be glad. I thought from the beginning that it would be difficult to secure from the Senecas that which we wished; now I see that it is quite as hard to persuade the Indians here to go and make known to the Chief what are their desires. If we were to agree with them and go elsewhere, so that they would have no further connection with the Six Nations, they would be ready quickly and we should have many, if not most, of the people here on our side, but whether that would serve the real interests of the mission is quite another question. Difficult as it was to get our Indians in Friedenshuetten to go to the Cayuga Chief in order to make the necessary preliminary arrangements for that settlement, it is much more difficult here to push this matter through, for here we have to do with Indians who know little of the Christian faith and are incapable of undertaking anything in its behalf.

On the 7th Abraham and his companions returned from the chase. They brought back some oil from the oil-well. There are said to be various such wells in this region. The oil has a very strong odor, and cannot be used with foods. The Indians use it externally as a medicine and it would be possible to use it for lighting. The oil comes out of the ground with the water and then rises to the top, so that it is possible to skim it. The Indians generally try to get that which has just come up, as it has not so pungent an odor. The nature of these oil-wells might well be investigated.<sup>162</sup> Today Wangomen, the Indian preacher, returned from Kaskaskunk, but we did not learn what he had accomplished on his mission.

On the 8th a Seneca arrived here and visited me. As our Indians hesitate so much about undertaking the mission to the Seneca Chief, with reference to the disquieting message we have received from the Six Nations, I took the opportunity to speak with this Indian about the matter in order to get, if possible, further information. He gave me the following interesting statement. A white man, an Englishman in Anohochquage,<sup>163</sup> had betrayed to the Six Nations the secret that Sir Wm. Johnson and

the English had evil intentions toward them, contemplating the assassination of their representatives at the coming Treaty. The Englishman declared that he had heard Johnson say that the Six Nations were a great strong tree-trunk, whose roots had already been hewn off and which would soon, therefore, fall. This was to be brought about at the Treaty. When their deputies, then, had appeared before Johnson, they put the matter to him as being a dream; they had dreamed that his heart was no longer so disposed toward them as had formerly been the case, yes, they had dreamed that he and the English intended to exterminate them. Therefore, they wished him to tell them honestly whether this were true, because they had on that account turned about and determined not to go to the Treaty. Johnson, in reply, had declared that nothing of the kind had entered his mind and had, also, said that he did not believe that they had dreamed this. He insisted that some one must have reported such things to them and wished to know who had done this. But he was not able to learn from them who had done so. He was hardly able to persuade them to meet at the portage for the Treaty.<sup>164</sup> I learned, further, from this Indian that the Chief was at home at the present time and that this would be a good opportunity to visit him, before the winter sets in.

After the preaching service on the 9th I called another meeting of our people to consider again the mission to the Seneca Chief. I told them that there was now nothing of a serious nature to hinder our undertaking the journey and that we ought to start tomorrow or the day after. Allemewi and the rest were ready to do what was in their power.

On the 10th we prepared for the journey. We heard that Wangomen had been in Kaskaskunk on our account, inquiring of the authorities there what ought to be done with us, whether we should be told to leave? They had answered him, no, the Moravians must not be ordered to leave, for that would mean driving the Indians from the land. The meaning of this answer is: If the Moravians go, or are driven away, nothing else is to be expected than that many Indians will follow them. Is this not wonderful? We have so many enemies here, more than friends, who would be glad to see us out of the way, yet no one

dare tell us to go. A hut was put up near our house for an old widow, who lives two miles from here. She is anxious to have a dwelling near us and wants to attend our meetings; for this reason she had earnestly requested that this arrangement might be made for her.

On the 11th, then, toward noon we started on our journey into the Seneca country. There were five of us; with me went Senseman, Abraham and two other Indians from here, to whom Allemewi had entrusted his message. Anton remained at our house, because traveling is a great hardship for him. We started up the Ohio by water, thankful that this journey, spoken of all summer and a cause of great anxiety to me, had at last been undertaken. Even the Indians who accompanied us made the trip in very good spirits. Last night we had the first frost. It has done much damage to the corn. The Indians say that this frost is extraordinarily early.

On the 12th we reached the Seneca Town, Ganawaen, where we spent the night. We inquired whether we should find the Chief at home and were told that he had not gone to the Treaty because recently the Chief in Ganatissege, who ranks as the second Chief of the Senecas, had died.<sup>165</sup>

On the 15th we reached the uppermost and last town on the Ohio. Here, as in the towns visited earlier, we were well received and entertained according to Indian custom. As they perceived that we were journeying to Zoneschio on account of our affairs, no one inquired what we had to do with the Chief, for according to Indian custom it is not permitted to ask about such matters. Should one or another put questions on such an affair, it is customary to refuse to answer. The Indian with whom we lodged, who is an Onondaga, told me that recently a messenger from Zoneschio, sent by the Seneca Chief, had passed through with a message for me. He had not heard the nature of the message and would be glad to hear about it from me. I told him that the message had not been intended for me but rather for the Indians in Goschgoschuenk and the Indians along the Ohio and that the purpose of our journey was to interview the Chief about this very message. We inquired at this place,

also, whether we should find the Chief at home but could learn nothing definite. We left our canoe and some of our provisions and other things here.

On the 16th we proceeded on foot, going several miles further up the Ohio, then turning off northward, our course hitherto having been north-east. We soon crossed two fairly high hills then entered into the Swamp, where we had a very bad, miry road to travel.

At noon on the 17th we crossed a branch of the Ohio. A short distance up this Creek there are oil-wells, with the products of which the Senecas carry on trade with Niagara.<sup>166</sup> This morning one of the Indians went off to the side of our course to hunt; he came back to us at this point, having bagged a deer, which we carried with us to our encampment for the night. At noon we reached a branch of the Pemidhannek and in the evening we arrived at Garochati, on the same River, where we spent the night. We found the Town quite deserted, because many had gone to the Treaty with Johnson. Here we heard, too, that the Chief Hagastaas was not at home. Sir Wm. Johnson had expressly sent for him. Some of the lieutenant chiefs were said to be at home. In this town alone there are said to be six hundred warriors. This Creek is the same Pemidhannek, which we crossed on our journey last spring. The town has houses built in various styles. Some are weather boarded block-houses and have chimneys. Some are two story houses, having a staircase on the outside. These houses have a tower-like appearance, because they are not more than fourteen feet in length and in breadth. All the work on them was done by Indians and, considering that they have very crude tools, the structures are very creditable to the builders.

I learned that the messenger with the Chief's message relating to me and addressed to the Indians had been dispatched from this town. When they asked about this messenger, we told them that the message had not been delivered in the proper place (viz., in the house of the Chief at Goschgoschuenk, as was to be expected) but in a private house, so that we knew nothing of it, except so much as we had heard from others. The Chief who had been living with us had taken no notice of it, because the

message had not been brought to him. For this reason, no answer would be given. They wondered at this very much and inquired where the messenger might be keeping himself and why he did not return. On these points we were unable to answer them.

I asked them concerning the tenor of the message, being very anxious to know. But no one would tell me more than that there were not many words and that there had been only good words. In reply, I said that the messenger must have lied, for, as we had heard them, the words had not been good words. They were very friendly toward us, but the Senecas are a very untrustworthy people and one dare not depend on their words and professions of friendship, for these last only until one has turned one's back. As I was very anxious to get at the truth of the matter (for I had almost come to the conclusion that the message had been tampered with and forged by evil-minded Indians along the Ohio), I did not cease inquiring about it. In the morning I happened to speak to one of the Indians. He told me the truth. I learned that what the messenger had said was not only true enough but that Chief Hagastaas had said, in addition, that he would not have a minister in his land and that if the Indians of Goschgoschuenk wanted to have a preacher they should go to their own land. In case they did not send away their minister, it might at some time happen that they would find him somewhere dead. This, the Indian said, he had heard from the Chief's own mouth, and he showed me the house and the spot where it had been said. If these are good words, as the Indians here said, what must the bad ones be?

Toward noon on the 19th we started once more, going down the Pemidhannek, which we were obliged to ford twice. In the evening we reached a little town, where two negroes and a Frenchman live. The former lived among the Indians in Assinnissink, on the Tiaogu even before the war and, after the Indians there had fled, they found refuge among the Senecas. The Frenchman, after Niagara came into the possession of the English, went among the Indians and has since remained with them. They own considerable cattle and the Chief has given them this land to live upon. Just as we entered the house of the negroes,

where we spent the night, an Indian, whose dwelling-place is two miles down the Creek, arrived. He had already heard of our coming. He asked me, "Are you Ganousseracheri, of whom one hears so much?" I replied that this was my name and asked him what it was they heard of me, whether it were good or ill. He did not answer my question but said that there was much talk about me in this region. I told him that I preached nothing but God's word to the Indians and that I hoped that this would not be considered wrong. He said, "No, that is good." I learned from the negro, who evidently knows about the whole matter, that the Chief had been urged by two evil-minded Indians to do as he did.

In the evening of the 20th, after having passed through a great level place, several miles in extent, we reached Zoneschio. We spent the night a short distance outside the town, in the house of the Chief. We notified the Indian who occupied the house, who is married to the sister of the Chief and is himself a Chief, that we had a message for the Chief. As the Chief himself was not at home we asked that he might summon the other chiefs, in order that we might be able to put before them the business on account of which we had come.

Very early on the 20th messengers were sent on horseback into the towns that are from twenty to thirty miles distant, to invite the chiefs to a council. A Misquachki Indian, who came out of a war with the English<sup>167</sup> with an arm so crooked that he is not able to carry a gun or do any work, visited us during the morning. He spoke with our Indians and said to them that we should consider carefully what kind of message we should present; we should say only good words, for the Chief of this place does not relish the word of whites. They replied that they neither could nor would deliver any other message than that which they received from the Chief in Goschgoschuenk; they would speak nothing but the truth and hoped that this would be received as good words. Early in the morning we were regaled with a strange tale by our host. It is said that a certain god or spirit that wears a stone coat had been killed. The spirit had been found dead and his hatchet had been picked up and brought to the town here. The fatality is said to have occurred

a short distance down the Pemidhannek, where there is a water-fall in the River, so abrupt that neither canoes nor fish can get over it. There the spirit had lived. Since his death, the place in the river had become quite level, so that it could easily be passed. All were glad to hear that the water-fall had disappeared and believed the tale. They had immediately sent some one to find out whether the change had really taken place. They found the water-fall as before. The Senecas are much given to superstition, fables and lies, more than is the case among other peoples, the Onondagas and the Cayugas, for example. These people are fairly buried in heathenism. During the day we were brought into the town, where I had been eighteen years ago and I can well remember where we were lodged in the house of a Chief to await the session of the Council. The Town consists of some twenty houses. Most of the people live outside it, scattered through the forest within a radius of two to three miles. This condition is attributable to the excessive drinking which is all too common in the place. No one, not even those given to drinking, care to live in the town. An instance of this we witnessed today. Our hostess with other women became very drunk and disturbed us the whole night. They excused themselves, asking us not to remember it against them, because they were obliged to drink for the dead. For this reason, they were not able to offer us any of their liquor, a cause for thankfulness on our part.

On the 22nd the Chiefs of three outlying towns arrived, and, as we saw that they were very anxious to hear our words, we arranged for a meeting this afternoon. They greeted us in a very friendly manner and indicated that they were pleased with our having come to their Council. Abraham had already, before we started, been elected the speaker: the negro mentioned above, who understands both the Delaware and the Seneca languages, and the Misquachki Indian, of whom mention has been made, were selected as interpreters. I did not wish to serve as interpreter, because I would not give them reason to think that the words were my words and not the words of Allemewi. In the event, however, I was obliged to assist when the official interpreters were unable to go on. As we had heard on our journey that the second Seneca Chief in Ganatissege, and also, a

member of the family of the Chief living here, and a Chief in Cayuga, had died, and as the Indians in such cases will consider no business until the proprieties incident to mourning have been observed, we began by referring to their losses through death. Abraham addressed the Council in the name of the Chief, in the following manner: "Uncle, when we left home we knew nothing more than that we were coming hither to deliver a message from our Chief Allemewi; we knew nothing of all that had occurred here until on the way we learned that two of your Chiefs and a Cayuga Chief had died. This must, without doubt, cause great sadness that touches the heart, and I see my Uncle weep for sorrow. I herewith wipe the tears from your eyes so that you may see your cousins clearly and distinctly before you. I would wipe out your ears and lift all burdensome sadness from your heart, so that you may hear and understand the words that we have to say to you. Therefore, Uncle, weep no more, be of good cheer and take courage and then hear me." Hereupon he presented a three fathom String of Wampum. After the interpreters had finished, he continued: "Uncle, hear now the words of Allemewi, our Chief in Goschgoschuenk, which have been given us to transmit to you and on account of which we have come to your camp fire. They are as follows: 'Uncle, I herewith inform you that I have received the good Word of God, which the Moravians, whom you see before you, have brought. I rejoice to hear this precious Word every day, for it is not sufficient that I should hear it only a few times. I must be instructed daily. I am glad that the Moravians, whom I invited, have come here. They have given heed to my words and are living with me. I desire to carry out my plans and to hold firmly to them.'" Thereupon he gave a String of four fathoms of Wampum and continued: "'Uncle, now that you have heard that I have received the good Word, that comes from God, I wish to inform you, further, that we have put away all evil and sinful practices such as drinking, dancing, sacrifices, painting of the person, wearing feathers on the head, stealing and, indeed, everything that can be called bad. We wish to live a quiet and peaceable life as is well pleasing to God. If you should hear in the future of Indians who do these things and take pleasure in them you may believe

that this has no application to us.' " Here he presented another three fathom String of Wampum, then continued: " 'Uncle, you have now heard my mind and how I and all who will in future dwell among us intend to live. Now hear me further. The situation of Goschgoschuenk is such that it is no suitable place for us to live, because we cannot dwell together. The land is poor, and there is not enough of good land in any one place that would enable us to found a proper town. We must live scattered over miles of territory, on account of our plantations. This makes it difficult for us to attend the meetings, at which we should like to be present every day, in order to hear the Word of God. My request and petition of you, Uncle, then, is that you may take us and settle us on the land along the Onenge, which is good enough and large enough for the establishment of a town and the laying out of plantations; that you may give those of us, who wish to believe, this place as a dwelling-place, where we may be by ourselves and not disturbed by the savages and unbelievers; and that in the future all those who might wish to hear about God might be able to come to us. Whoever does not share our wishes may keep away. Further, it is my wish and desire that the Moravians, our teachers, may live with us in the same place. You need have no fear that more white people will come, to settle and take possession of the land, for the Moravians are not like other people. They seek neither land nor anything else, but their ambition is to instruct the Indians in the Word of God. There will never be more than two, and if one or another is obliged to go elsewhere, some one will come in his place. It is not our intention to desert your camp-fire, for this reason we turn to you and acquaint you with our plans. If you will grant us our petition, we will always hold to your camp-fire; in case you do not, we will turn elsewhere. We expect an answer from you this fall, or, at latest, this winter. If we receive no answer by spring, you may depend upon it that we will not spend another summer in Goschgoschuenk. In that event we will move to another place.' " Hereupon, he presented a large Belt of Wampum, saying, "Such are the words of Allemewi, our Chief in Goschgoschuenk, and we are glad to have had this opportunity of conveying them to you." The Belt which was large and very carefully worked, was handed

about in the Council, in order that each one might take it into his hands and examine it, which is generally a good sign of its being well received. All who were present declared that the words we had brought were good words, containing nothing that aroused suspicion. They promised to deliver the message to Chief Hagastaas, upon his return, and engaged to do what was in their power to have an answer sent us in the fall or winter, so that we might be able to prepare for removal in good time and put our plantations in order. We requested that the message might be preserved in the Chief's house until his return and that they might all attend to its prompt deliverance to him. This they promised to do.

Then I addressed the Council as follows: "Brethren, it is a great pleasure to have the opportunity to speak to you and it would be a greater pleasure were Chief Hagastaas present, for we are but little acquainted with one another, though you must have heard a great deal about me, particularly this last summer. You have now heard for yourselves from these my companions what is the reason for my going to Goschgoschuenk and dwelling there. I was invited by the people of that place to come thither in order that they might hear the good words of our God and Creator. Wherever my brethren and I find Indians who are desirous of hearing these words, we consider it our duty to serve them. We seek neither land nor pelts nor any other thing; it is our steadfast endeavor to proclaim the gospel. As we had heard that there were such people in Goschgoschuenk, who would willingly receive this Word, I journeyed thither a year ago, with two Indians, from Friedenshuetten to visit them. Finding what we had heard to be true and being invited to return, even by special messengers who came to us this spring to learn how soon we intended to come, we could not deny them, and, for this reason, I returned this spring, bringing two families from Friedenshuetten with me. A member of one of these families is here with me. He and the others assist me as interpreters, for I am not yet master of the language there spoken. This message should have come sooner to acquaint you and the Chief of our coming and purpose. But as the Chief of Goschgoschuenk was not at home at the time of our arrival, this matter could not be

attended to sooner. Upon the Chief's return, a message was sent hither by the hands of a Cayuga, who happened to be passing through. Upon this no answer has come, though we have been waiting for it. Brethren, the situation is this. You have no reason to fear that injury or misfortune will befall you or that more whites will follow us and settle there. Turn your face to Friedenshuetten for a moment. There you have an example that it is an advantage and not a disadvantage for you, that Christian Indians and their teachers live among you. Three years ago no Indian lived there; now you have a large town of Christian Indians, such as you would hardly meet with elsewhere. No other whites than the teachers may live there, traders not even being granted permission to build a house. I wish therefore, that you and the Chief Hagastaas may follow the example of Chief Togahabu in Cayuga, for it is not unknown to you that he received the Indians in Friedenshuetten with their teachers and gave them land for a dwelling-place. He did not say, 'Cousins, do not follow nor believe your teachers, because they will mislead you,' but he acted as a wise and prudent man and said, 'My cousins, I am rejoiced that you are eager to hear of God and God's Word and anxious to lead a good life. Be steadfast and hold to your resolution, no one shall be permitted to hinder you nor put obstacles in your way.' I cannot accuse the Aquanoschioni of having hindered me nor any of my brethren nor of having been unfriendly toward us. And as I have been much among them and have travelled a great deal in their land so that I am well known to them, they always received me in a friendly manner wherever I have met them. So much the more was I surprised when during the past summer a message concerning me was directed to all the Indians along the Ohio, denouncing me as false to the Indians and calling upon them to give no heed to my words. If I were guilty of teaching the Indians, your cousins, anything wrong, I might justly be decried as a betrayer of the Indians and properly driven from the land. But as I tell them only the words of life, which minister to their eternal well-being, great injustice is done me. I believe the reason for this is that the Chief knows neither me nor my brethren. He must have been ill informed of us, otherwise he would surely

not have done as he has. I tell you that such treatment is the surest way of driving the Indians from the land; this is an unheard of thing, that the Aqüanochaschioni should expel Indians out of their land. On the contrary, they have always received them. He who gave such counsel to your chief is lacking in proper insight." They asked me, then, who my brethren were that had sent me? This I could not answer them more clearly than by declaring that my brethren were Tecarihontie, which signifies adopted Senecas, Tgirhitonty and Anuntschi. They said further, "Brother! we are very glad to have seen you and to have heard your words. Your purpose is good, do not cease instructing our cousins in the Word of God for that is a good work. Of the message that was sent to the Ohio we know nothing, for it was not drawn up in the Council. We have no share in it. So much we can tell you, that we heard that the message was drawn up in Garochiati and dispatched from there, which did not please us at all. When the Chief returns we will inform him of all that we have now heard and endeavor to make it clear to him. We hope that you will receive good words in reply." After this a meal was partaken of and various matters were talked about, among other things it was mentioned that I had been here eighteen years ago. Some of those present remembered having seen me then. They took leave of us in a friendly manner, and the Chief of Hachniaje pressed my hand very cordially, wishing me success with the words, "Continue to serve our cousins with the Word of God." To our Indians he said, "Cousins, take to heart the words you hear from him." As we were likely to be disturbed by the drinking here, we requested that we might again be permitted to spend the night in the Chief's house. The permission was willingly granted. The man in charge of the house asked that we might remain with him on the morrow, as his wife wished to bake bread and prepare provisions for us.

We spent the 23rd, therefore, in the Chief's house, and I had opportunity to talk over with our host one thing and another, making various matters clear to him. He is one of the principal advisers in the Council of Chief Hagastaas and is constantly with him. He was with him in Garochiati at the time

the message to the Ohio was prepared. He endeavored to dissuade him from sending the message, saying that it would do no good. But those opposed to him had gotten the upper hand. The Indians of this place inquired of me, among other things, whether it were true that the Indians in Goschgoschuenk had put away rum and forbidden the sale of it? I answer them, that this was the case. They asked whether all the Indians there had discontinued the use of it? I replied, "Yes, all without exception and no one, whether Indian or white, is permitted to bring any into the place to sell." I could honestly answer thus. It was a struggle for us to bring this about, for it was no slight thing. Had this not been accomplished, it would have been impossible for us to remain. It is remarkable enough that, hated as we were and threatened with death, we should have been able to bring about this thing, so necessary for the continuance of our work. Every spring and fall Goschgoschuenk was the rum-market for the Senecas, especially those of Garochiati. They secured the rum in Niagara and brought it thither for sale. Now this is forbidden them. They declared that it was a good thing to have done away with drinking and said that they had worked for some time to do likewise in Zoneschio, thus far without success. The sister of Chief Hagastaas told me that she had often heard her brother say that Goschgoschuenk was a poor place, because the land was not good and that during the past summer he had had in mind visiting the Indians there in order to consider the matter with them. But because Sir Wm. Johnson had always desired to see him, he had not been able to follow up his idea.

Concerning the Seneca Nation it may be noted that it has already divided into two parties. Half of them, who live to the east of Zoneschio, are friends of the English and have their own chief in Ganatissege. Most of those present at our Council were of this party. The Chief of the party here, however, and all his people, those here and those on the Ohio, are the enemies of all whites and are ever contemplating moving far to the west, in order to be well rid of them. Hence, it is a matter of small moment to their Chief whether his cousins, the Indians on the Ohio, remain loyal to him or not. Thus the Indians in Gosch-

goschuenk think about him, at least ; he is not so much concerned about them as is the Chief in Cayuga. Sir. Wm. Johnson has tried in various ways to win him as a friend, but all in vain. Some three years ago he sent an English missionary among his people, into this very region—in the Chief's house I saw some of his books—but he was not able to hold out a very long time.<sup>168</sup> During all this summer Johnson had people here for the purpose of persuading the Chief and his people to come to the Treaty. Had the winter not been so near and had we been prepared for so long a journey, it is possible that we, not having met the Chief here, would have gone on to meet Johnson at the Treaty. There we would have met the Six Nations, and I have no doubt that Johnson would have helped and assisted us. As it is we have covered half the distance. But now I do not see that it is possible for us to undertake this journey. Here we are quite a little nearer to Friedenshuetten, which lies to the south-east, than to Goschgoschuenk, because to Passikackkunk on the Tiaogun it is two days' journey, and, therefore, six or seven days' journey to Friedenshuetten. Niagara lies to the north from here and is two days' journey distant, and this river, called Pemidhannek in the Delaware tongue and Zoneschio in the Seneca, empties into the St. Lawrence River between Niagara and Lake Erie. The land in this region is good and attractive. Down along the River there are flats of considerable extent. The grass on these grows so high that a pedestrian can scarcely look over it.

On the 24th, after a friendly farewell from our host and hostess we started back. He said in parting that if the Chief would let him go he would gladly bring the answer to Goschgoschuenk. In the evening we reached the negro-town, where we spent the night.

On the 25th we passed through Garochiati, spending only a short time there. The same day we reached the Swamp. It rained all day, very steadily, and were were glad that we had the Pemidhannek—we were obliged to cross the stream three times—behind us, otherwise we might have been stopped.

On the 26th we crossed the Canoos, that is the Oil-creek, at the risk of our lives. The stream was very much swollen in

consequence of the rains. Rain continued during the day and at night we had snow.

On the 27th we had heavy traveling through a foot of snow. Yet we reached Tionienwaquagaronto, on the Ohio, where we spent the night. We found the place deserted. Only one old man was at home. The rest of the Indians are hunting. But we found our canoe, provisions and effects in good condition.

On the 28th we continued our journey by water, reaching Tiozinossongcho in the evening.

At noon on the 29th we came to Ganawaen. In both the last named places I was obliged to tell the people something about Zoneschio, but they did not inquire about our negotiations. In the evening the Indians of our company went hunting for a while, returning with two deer to our encampment for the night. While they had been hunting, the rest of us had continued on our way.

On the 31st we were very happy to reach Goschgoschuenk safely. It soon became generally known that we had returned. Our people who had spent most of the time on their plantations, latterly trying to get in their corn, which had for the most part been frozen, gathered in the evening. While we had little good news to impart, we were very happy to be together again, and before separating we had a most enjoyable service. On this very day a welcome message had arrived from Chief Packanke, in Kaskaskunk. During our absence, Allemewi had sent him a message, acquainting him with his intentions and our journey to the Seneca Chief and the reasons. This was the answer received today: "It pleased me very much that you should inform me of your aims and how you intend to live in future. I am glad to hear, also, that you would like to move to the land on the Onenge. But I must inform you that that land does not belong to the Seneca Chief but to me, for the Delamattenos gave it to me and to the Indians who desire to live upon it. I think it will be very good if the Christian Indians will move thither, in order that if more Indians of this region or of my people would become Christians, they might join you and you would be able to welcome them. Move thither, therefore, and build a good-sized town. Take your teacher with you." This message is the

more remarkable, because I have always heard and hear yet that Packanke is no friend of the gospel. Of this, however, one cannot be sure until a visit to his town can be made, for the testimony of the Indians is not always reliable.

On the 1st of November another welcome message arrived, this time from King Beaver<sup>169</sup>, who lives some distance to the west of Kaskaskunk, and to whom Allemewi had, also, sent word. The message to Allemewi was of the following import: "I am very glad to hear that you are minded to believe in God and that you have received the Moravians who have brought to you the good word of God. Be steadfast and hold to your resolution." Then he addresses all the Indians, saying, "Hear, all ye inhabitants of Goschgoschuenk, Men, Women, Children and You Young People! It will be an excellent thing if you will all believe in God and live a decent life. Therefore, listen to the Moravians and believe what they tell you. I should like, if possible, to hear the Moravian brother who is among you. I have heard the Indian preachers often and see that there is nothing in their words. Believe the Moravians and follow them, they know the right way." This King Beaver and his tribe are the Indians of whom I had heard in Friedenshuettten last year that they were locating a separate town, building a church and arranging to have an English minister come among them, to preach to them. Since we have come here, I have heard that they had really collected £50.00 in pelts toward building the church. But the Indian preachers have succeeded in bringing the effort to nothing. This was brought about through the message of the Seneca Chief, which did us no harm. We had the Christian Indian men meet and related to them how we had fared in the matter of carrying the message to Zoneschio, how we had been well received and where we had left the message so that it might get into the hands of the Chief upon his return. I thanked Allemewi as well as those who had accompanied us for their willingness to co-operate. We hope that the trip will prove not to have been in vain. I had the opportunity of explaining many things that they did not know and understand about the message.

On the 2nd of November we brought in the remainder of our corn. During the time of our absence we had hired people

to start the harvesting. Hardly half was ripe, because of the late planting and the extraordinarily early frost (according to the Indians).

In the evening an Indian came who had been in Bethlehem. He brought us many comforting words and messages from there. It is hard to describe what pleasure this gave us. We were much moved by the sympathetic interest evidenced by the members of the home congregation in our work. The communicant members of our mission had a special service, in which announcement was made that on the coming Saturday we would celebrate the Holy Communion. I delivered on this occasion, also, the greetings from the members in Bethlehem, Nazareth, Christiansbrunn and Friedenshuetten, telling our people of the intercessions that were made on our behalf and calling attention to the fact that these had prevailed, so that we had been delivered from all danger and that we enjoyed at least comparative quiet, such as a short time ago we had not dared to hope for.

After the early service on the 3rd we called our people together in order to communicate to them various news items from the letter of the Rev. Schmick, inasmuch as they had already heard this and that from Friedenshuetten. I told them, particularly, of the message of the Cayuga Chief to the people at that place and the happy results thereof. The people were very glad to hear the things I told them. Doing this had its good effect in another way. The Indians could see that by means of letters it was possible to speak and communicate with friends. Letters are usually the subjects of much suspicion among the Indians.

On the 4th Seneca Indians came to the town. They called on us. There was a white man among them, who, according to his own story, had been taken a captive by the Indians thirteen years ago.<sup>170</sup> He gave as his reason for remaining among them so long a time, that he was not obliged to work. He could still speak English well, but would not use any but the Indian tongue.

On the 5th a bakery was started in the place. Mr. Eliot, of Ligonier, who trades here, sent his brother with flour to make the start.<sup>171</sup> But the bread is very expensive, nine pounds of

bread for the largest buckskin, reckoned here to be worth a dollar.

In the evening we celebrated Holy Communion.

On the 7th a hut was put up for Allemewi. This is the seventh in our own little settlement. A Seneca, who had bought various articles from the trader yesterday, was robbed of two shirts, for which he had paid five buckskins. He came to me this morning and begged that I help him recover his goods. I told him that I knew that no one in our little settlement had them and that in the other towns we had nothing to say. He asked me whether all the Indians did not come to our meetings? I answered, "No, only those who live with us and a few others. There are many bad Indians here." But I promised to do what I could. As I am very anxious to serve the Minquas in whatever way I can, I sent Anton into the town to speak with the people and to tell them that if they did not restore the stolen goods to the Seneca, the latter would probably steal a horse or two and thus indemnify himself, which transaction would very probably strike some innocent person. They made an investigation and brought me the shirts, which I restored to their owner, who was much pleased and thanked me very heartily. As the Traders had heard that we had observed Sunday yesterday and, according to their reckoning, to-morrow would be Sunday, they all appeared to inquire about the matter. They almost persuaded us that we had erred, but, at last, they were convinced that they were in error.

On the 12th I had a conversation with Benjamin, who is a backslider. He attends our meetings regularly and shows inclination to lead a good life. During the last few days nearly all the people of the neighborhood went hunting, except some old people. Since our coming into these parts we have not had so quiet and peaceful a time.

On the 13th we had a special meeting with our communicant members.

On the 14th nearly all our people went hunting for several weeks. We two [Zeisberger and Senseman] remained at home with Anton and his wife, Allemewi and his wife and the two widows.

On the 16th eighteen warriors from the war with the

Cherokees passed through here. They had a prisoner with them as well as two scalps, the latter being borne on a pole in sign of victory. They were all Onondagas who knew me very well and had heard in Onenge that I was here. They visited us upon their arrival and, as they were unable to speak the language of the Indians of this region, I had to help them secure provisions in the town. They had their dance in the evening in the town, but their captain, a good counsellor, who had not seen me for fourteen years, spent the evening with us. I talked much with him about the purpose of our coming here and asked him various questions about the Seneca Chief. He told me, among other things, that this man was no friend of the whites, much less of the gospel. He parted in a very friendly manner and they all left on the 17th.

On the 23rd Allemewi received a Belt of Wampum from an Indian preacher who lives several days' journey from here down the Ohio, with the words: "Take this belt and hold it firmly, for next summer the sun will stand directly above your head, and it will be so hot that everything will be parched and no corn will grow." Such false things will the Indian preachers prophesy. Most of the Indians believe them. Even when they cannot fail to see that they have been deceived, they are ready to believe the next new lie that it proclaimed.

On the 25th and the 26th of November the first deep snow fell. As there are but few of us at home, we have the meeting only occasionally. Round about us all is quiet and peaceful.

On the 29th we had Seneca visitors. They were from Onenge and passed through here on a trip. All the Minquas who have thus far visited us have been very friendly toward us. Several of our people returned from the chase. They brought us meat.

On the 3rd of December the Ohio was covered with ice. For the last eight days it has been very cold. Through the whole of November it either rained or snowed.

On the 4th we heard that when all the Indians had returned from the chase, they had arranged to take counsel together as to what they should do in the coming spring, whether they would

move with us or remain here, and whether they would all become Christians or not. They begin to consider, for they all know that in the coming spring we shall move away. In consequence, many are cultivating our friendship, due probably to the messages from the Chiefs Packanke and Amochk.<sup>172</sup> For the Indians who live here have long had in mind moving to another place. This region is not suitable for the establishment of a settlement, and they have waited for a favorable opportunity to get away.

On the 9th, Abraham, who had returned yesterday from the hunting-hut, went thither again. The sick Indian, of whom mention has been made several times, visited us. When he told me that he had been ill more than a year and a day and had been bewitched by the Indians, I said to him that witchcraft was the work of Satan and that it could not harm any one who believed in the Saviour. And I added that I was not afraid of being bewitched, no harm could come to me in that way. He professed to believe as true what I had told him but stated that he could not believe in the Saviour, because he could not understand what was said in our meetings. I replied that this did not surprise me at all, because any one who was spiritually dead could not receive the Saviour's Word nor understand it. He should not, however, on that account keep away from our meetings, for the time might come when he would understand.

On the 12th I wrote and sent report to Bethlehem by the hands of a trader who expected to proceed by way of Ligonier.

On the 13th Abraham and all our people returned from the chase, and we began to conduct our daily meetings once more.

On the 14th Gendaskund, one of our people who lives some distance from our house and who returned from the chase yesterday, came seeking counsel as to what should be done with the trader who in his absence had conducted himself in an objectionable manner in his house. On his return home last evening he had found the trader engaged in a dance with a number of women, having done this sort of thing every evening in the absence of the owner of the house. Upon Gendaskund's driving them away and speaking rather sharply to them, the trader had objected to remaining with him longer and said that he would buy his own house in the neighborhood. Gendaskund wished

me to talk to the trader, who was very angry at him and would not listen to him any longer. I replied that it was not my business to deal with such people but that all the men of the village should meet, summon the trader and tell him plainly that he would not be permitted to buy a house here but would be obliged to remain where he was and conduct himself decently, then no one would have anything against him. If we should allow the traders to have their own houses here, they would eventually rule the place, carry on all manner of nuisance and trouble us. This counsel commended itself to all and

On the 15th they met and had an interview with the trader, who promised to be law-abiding and obedient.

On the 17th we heard that an old woman had begun to preach against us again and that many men and women went to hear her. She tells them that whoever comes to our meetings and believes in our words will not after this life get to the good place of the spirits, which is said to be far to the south and in which there are deer, bears, chestnuts, elder-berries and all other good things in abundance, though no one knows exactly where the place is. She exhorts the Indians to hold to their old manner and customs, to arrange for frequent festivals and dances and to purchase nothing more from the whites. Instead they should use their bows and arrows for the chase, return to their stone bowls and hatchets and go back to their former manner of dress, viz., blankets made of feathers and skins. And there are other exhortations of similar import. If they will do these things and resume their former manner of living, she promises that they will fare well, that the corn will thrive and not be injured by worms nor by frost.<sup>173</sup> This year the corn had been frozen and consumed by the worms, the deer and other game had left their region and no chestnuts and elder-berries had grown, because the Indians had begun another manner of life and wished to believe in God. The old woman who died during the summer had preached in a similar manner. Since her death it had been very quiet and peaceful, now this one starts to stir up the Indians against us. Such preaching the Indians like to hear, though they recognize very well that they could not content themselves with their former habits of life and do not in-

tend to return to them. I have not found elsewhere among the Indians that the women are such instruments of Satan and influential among the people.<sup>174</sup>

For the preaching service on the 15th the house was full of hearers and Anton and Abraham talked a great deal with the people after the service about the Saviour. Gatschenis visited us and opened his heart, confessing that he longed to know the Saviour and that his inner life was not as it should be. Gendaskund came, also, telling us about the strained relations with his friends, who hated him and called him *Schwonnak*, that is, "a white," because of his coming to our services and aiming to lead a new life. He said that his uncle in the lower town had disavowed all friendship for him and had made known to him that he would inform neither him nor Allemewi what the Indians were doing and what they were planning, because they were no longer Indians but *Schwonnak*, inasmuch as they had faith in the whites. Yet he said that this did not deter him from seeking to know the Saviour fully. He has declared to his friends very plainly that it is his firm resolution to believe in the Saviour and not to turn from Him, therefore they should not seek to dissuade him, for it would be in vain. If in the spring we move away he intends to go with us and will not remain here. His wife, who had until recently not wished to hear anything about the Saviour, now comes very regularly to our services, which is a source of great satisfaction to him.

On the 22nd we were visited by several traders, who arrived here from Ligonier and we learned

On the 23rd that they were carrying on in an improper manner among the Indians. We can do little or nothing, because we are not masters of the situation. But it is a good thing to learn to know the people, in order that we may be governed in our future plans accordingly. The Chief in the lower town has encouraged the Indians there and here to borrow and make debts to their hearts' content, because in spring there would be war and this would liquidate all indebtedness. In his town, it is said, that the Indians owe the traders something like two hundred skins.<sup>175</sup>

On the 24th we learned from Indians who do not belong

to our company that Gendaskund has, for several days, been exhorting the Indians, especially the younger people to reflect and to lead a different life, not to go to the dance every evening but instead to attend our meetings, where they would hear the good words about the Saviour. This would do them more good than the dance. The Christmas-eve service was attended by some who have been here but rarely or have not been here at all. We had a very edifying service.

On the 25th we read the story of the birth of Christ. All listened very attentively. They seemed to be very eager to hear.

On the 28th the ice on the Ohio broke up, after we had had rain for two days. All the snow has melted. During this whole month there has been very mild weather, while in November we had severe cold. All the men of our company went out hunting in the neighborhood. They returned with two deer. Through a Shawanose, who had come from the Treaty with Sir Wm. Johnson, we learned that all had passed very peacefully and that the Six Nations had sold a large part of their land to the English.<sup>176</sup> Further, he had heard in Zoneschio that a messenger would very soon come from there to this place with a message. In that region the snow is said to be so deep that it reaches to the hips of a man; in Cayuga and the surrounding country it is so deep that it reaches to a man's arm-pits. In neither place can they go anywhere without snow-shoes.

On the 29th I went to see the old woman who has lived near us some time and has been ill these last days. In course of the conversation she testified that she longs for nothing further in this world than to know the Saviour. She is anxious not to depart from this life, until she has been assured of forgiveness and cleansing from all sin. One of Allemewi's daughters, who is desirous of hearing about the Saviour and had visited us on one occasion last summer, came three days' journey up the Ohio to our settlement and would like to make her home near us, because she would like to be a Christian. As there has been very bad weather and rain for several days we had thought of temporarily discontinuing our evening services. But the people round about continued to come. They do not like to omit any services, thinking that they might miss something. There is

call for much preaching and no opportunity for proclaiming the gospel message can be allowed to slip.

On the evening of the 31st we had a blessed service, commemorative of the close of the year. Many were present. There was hardly room in the house for all who came. We thanked the Lord that within the past year it had been possible to proclaim the gospel to the Indians here and that we had been graciously preserved and protected in times of danger and difficulty. After the general service the communicants celebrated Holy Communion.

#### JANUARY, 1769.

For the preaching service on the first day of the year we had a larger company of worshippers than we have had for some time. Many testified that they would gladly attend our services more regularly, if they did not live so far off. One admonishes another to come to our meetings.

On the 2nd we had many visitors. Anton and Abraham preached with great zeal to those who came. The son of the Chief in Damascus, eight miles from here, who was very hostile toward us during the last summer and had wished to kill us, has now assumed a different attitude toward us. He attended our evening service yesterday and told Gendaskund afterward that he would be glad to come to our meetings, were it not that he lived so far away. He said, further, that he believed now that we had the right way and that what we preached was the truth and that it would be a good thing if all the Indians here would give ear to our words. In these days Anton and Abraham recalled frequently the dangerous and anxious days we had passed through during the last summer. They related that at that time they had never ventured twenty paces from the house without taking a hatchet with them. Not that they had had in mind to injure anybody but with the idea that anyone who might have plotted evil against them would bethink himself, seeing that they were not without the means of defense.

On the 5th Abraham spoke to a company of Indians who had come to our house. He confessed to them that at one time he had been one of the most zealous disciples of Wangomen (the

Indian preacher of these parts). But he could now show to them from his own experience that there was nothing in the Indian preaching, for he had found nothing therein for his heart. He had only sunk deeper into heathenism, until he had heard the good words about the Saviour, how He had shed His blood for our sins that we might be delivered. Then he had immediately been persuaded in his heart that this was the right thing and the true way of salvation, which he needed to know. He told them, further, that we had come here in order to proclaim to them the good words, which would enable them to find forgiveness of their sins and salvation. We had now been preaching to them for seven months. Therefore, it was time that they should consider whether they would remain heathen or become Christians.

On the 6th we had a well attended preaching service. Afterward we held a conference with our people concerning various matters with regard to the future.

On the 7th most of the Indians of the neighborhood who had gone hunting returned. Again there was, in consequence, considerable commotion about us, whereas for a time we had enjoyed quiet. This fall the Indians of the two towns have shot over 1,200 deer, those of the lower town alone over 800. And not all are accounted for, as some Indians have not yet returned.

After the preaching service on the 8th Anton and Abraham made a visit to the lower town, the name of which is Damascus, in order to find out whether any there would be willing to listen to them. They remained over night and returned

On the 9th. They had found only a few old Indians there. These had, at first, told them various fables. They said, for example, that four Indians had recently made a journey to heaven and related what they had seen there as well as on the way there; among other things they saw two large towns, in one of which there were only women, of extraordinary size, in the other Indians with two heads, four hands and four feet. Concerning the place of the spirits, said to be located southward, they stated that whoever might get there would find a large city but no one therein. Fire would be made for him and food prepared and put before him, but he would see no one. Our men listened to their tales and then replied, that they had now heard much from

them but of the matter on account of which they had come they had as yet heard nothing. They repeated that they had come to learn whether they would like to hear about the Saviour. Several replied they would like to hear. Whereupon our men told them about the Saviour and how by believing in Him and His merits they might be saved. At the last, they told them that if they would be glad to hear more, I was willing to visit them occasionally and preach to them.

## NOTES.

1. The Allegheny and Ohio were considered one and the same stream until later in the century; they comprised *La Belle Riviere*, though the Delawares knew the upper Ohio as the *Allegne* or *Onenge*.
2. John Herman Bonn, an early inhabitant of Bethlehem; for many years warden of the Moravian colony at Christiansbrunn, twelve miles northward from Bethlehem.
3. A cousin of the writer, often called in the Church annals David Zeisberger Jr., to distinguish him from the great missionary.
4. Second, Third and Peter's mountains, the parallel ranges of the Blue Ridge. See Reading Howell's 1792 Map of Pennsylvania. cf. Note 80.
5. See Rogers's "Journal of the Sullivan Expedition", *Penna. Archives*, Second Series, XV, 258.
6. A convert residing at Friedenshuetten.
7. The Christian Indian town near Bethlehem, Penna—Friedenshutten (II), mentioned in the following sentence, lay opposite the mouth of Sugar Run, a mile and a half above Brownstown P. O., Penna.
8. Usually called Anthony; one of the most faithful of Indian converts and native helpers; see De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 267, 324, *seq.*
9. John Jacob Schmueck (or Schmick), graduate of the University of Koenigsberg, for many years a missionary among the Indians.
10. Papunhank or Papunham, see Note 92.
11. The civilizing influence of the Moravian missionaries was always seen in their attempts to make their converts give up nomadic life, build stable homes and cultivate the soil. A chief difficulty in this program is brought out later; see Note 12. Cf. *Moravian Records*, I, 17, 18, 30, 86, 123. (*Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quarterly* XIX, Nos. 1 & 2).
12. Lack of pasturage and the wearing out of the soil tended to compel the removal of Christian Indian towns, as, in their savage state, the disappearance of game induced it. The innumerable "old towns" and "old fields" throughout America were deserted sites of villages. cf. Note 113.
13. Tschechequanningk or Tschichschiquannuenk, a Monsey town on west bank of the Susquehannah below Shesquin, Pa. The mission begun here by John Roth in 1769 was abandoned in 1772, the Indians migrating to Ohio. Eghohowen, Echogohund or Echgoehund, as Zeisberger writes his name, was chief of the Minsi Delawares; his wife was Queen Esther, the most infamous of all the Montours. See Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, I, 205; John Hay's "Journal", *Penna. Archives*, III, 740; *Col. Rec.* VIII, 176, 209, 435, 750.
14. Diaogu or Diahogo (Chemung), 82 miles above Wyoming, a town of Mohicans, Delawares and Minsis.

15. The Chemung.

16. Tutelocs, a Siouan tribe of Carolina and Virginia now occupying various sites in this region; were found at Oskohary by Weiser in 1754; they were found by Brainerd about Shamokin ten years previous. They were known as *Tutelo* to the Algonquins and as *Totero* to the Senecas.

17. Or Willewane, a Monsey town, Bradford Co., Penna, near junction of the Chemung and Susquehanna.

18. Cayuga Lake in New York State.

19. Wenschikochpiechen, unidentified.

20. Meadows on the Chemung below Painted Post, Steuben Co., N. Y.

21. A Minsi town, near Painted Post, near the junction of the Chemung and Conhocton, settled previously to 1760.

22. Or Jacheabus, leader of the attack on Gnadenhutten on the Mahony, 1755. *Penna Archives*, II, 522.

23. The Mahony enters the Susquehanna about ten miles below Sudbury, Penna.

24. Possibly what was known as the "Spanish Ramparts" near Waverly, N. Y. mentioned by Rochefoucauld in 1795. See next note.

25. "Near the confines of Pennsylvania", wrote Rochefoucauld, "a mountain rises from the bank of the River Tioga in the shape of a sugar-loaf upon which are seen the remains of some entrenchments. These the inhabitants call the 'Spanish Ramparts', but I rather judge them to have been thrown up against the Indians in the time of M. de' Nonville. One perpendicular breast-work is yet remaining \* \* \* indicates that a parapet and a ditch have been constructed here".

26. Indians could usually give no information as to pre-historic remains in their neighborhoods. See *Moravian Records*, I, 31.

27. Gachtochwawunok, unidentified. See Note 118.

28. Woapassisqu, unidentified.

29. Zeisberger truly states of the Indians "in a forest they are a wonderful people. \* \* \* Is it as if Nature had fixed the compass in their heads."—*Moravian Records*, I, 21.

30. Goschgoschingk, Goshgoshink, Goschgoschünk, a Monsey town on the east bank of the Allegheny near the mouth of Tionesta Creek, approximately site of Tionesta, Forest Co., Penna. This was Zeisberger's destination. Heckewelder wrote the name Goschgoshing, stating that this meant "Hog Town". It is written Kushkushing on Hutchins's map of 1778. The name, as we shall see, covered three villages hereabouts.

31. Possibly from the Lenape *pasikachk*, "a board" and known to the whites as "Little Shingle".—*Penna Archives*, III, 44, 46, 56. Located on Cowanesque Creek.

32. In 1760 Frederick Christian Post went by this route to attend

an Indian Council in Ohio. He was stopped at Pasigachkunk by Mingoes by enforcing an agreement made long before that white men should not pass through the Seneca's country. This was to prevent the explorations of spies. See Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, I, 218, 220-222, 350.

33. The Pine Swamp or the "Shades of Death" on the plateau of Broad Mountain, Monroe and Carbon counties, Penna.

34. Cf. *Moravian Records*, I, 42.

35. Genesee River. The town Zonesschio, probably near Geneseo, N. Y. was the capital of the Senecas.

36. The tour begun at Wyoming May 28, 1750. See De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, Ch. VIII. This volume is the student's indispensable guide.

37. Or Christiansbrunn, two miles from Bath, Northampton Co., Penna. A Moravian farm and small settlement.

38. *Pinus pungens* Lamb, the table mountain pine.

39. *Cervus canadensis* (Erxleben). The distinction here between "elk tracks" and a "trail" shows that these forest-travellers held that only human feet created a "trail" as the word was understood; the courses of the deer were only "tracks".

40. The Manocacy.

41. Early travellers often found on the portage paths between heads of streams large patches of forest-trees stripped of bark. The canoe-making and boat-building industries were one of the economic conditions which made the old portages strategic points. See Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, VII, Ch. 1.

42. Tiohuwaquaronto? See Note 69.

43. Zeisberger's expectation portrays the conditions of the time. It had been only eighteen years since the French under Céloron had entered the Allegheny Valley bringing war in his wake. His reception was similar to Zeisberger's.

44. Or Tiozinossongachta. It is called later by Zeisberger "the most central of the Seneca towns" and was probably near the site of Cold Spring, Cattaraugus Co., N. Y. See Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, I, 221.

45. The invariable response of the Indian to missionaries of every faith which led to Sir William Johnson's well-known query as to effectiveness of missionary teaching; cf. Note 144.

46. The Indians lack of knowledge of the art of writing (see *Moravian Records* I, 145) made them suspicious of all writing. It came to be that they thought every written word related to land and its ownership. Early explorers were compelled to secrete even their compasses, by which, the Indians thought, measurements and surveys could be made. cf. Note 32.

47. The practice of sorcery, especially among the Delawares is

described at length by Zeisberger elsewhere (*Moravian Records*, I, 125-9, 172). The fact that Europeans were not affected was attributed to their use of salt (Id. 126).

48. The attitude of the missionary to Indian women is interesting. The student is non-plussed at his not accepting the opportunities to preach to them. See his entry under the date of October 1st while at Tschechschequaningo. cf. Note 63.

49. Panawaku? See Note 67.

50. See De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 318-319.

51. For Sir William Johnson's difficulties in restraining the Six Nations at this period, and the treaty at Oswego with Pontiac see Stone, *Life of Sir William Johnson*, II, 273-280.

52. For description of Delaware feasts and dances see *Moravian Records*, I, 136-140.

53. Franklin, Pa. at the junction of French Creek and the Allegheny; the fort here was destroyed during Pontiac's Rebellion.

54. Probably the middle town, which they soon reached.

55. The summons which brought Zeisberger may have come from this friend of John's. cf. Note 59.

56. Easton, Penna.

57. The faithfulness of Zeisberger's native assistants proves one of the remarkable features of this story of founding the first western mission.

58. For full description of the arts and chicanery of the native Indian "preachers" see *Moravian Records*, I, 133-135. This preacher's name was Wangomen.

59. Possibly Zeisberger's journey was due to a message received through these relatives of Rebecca. The blind chieftain was Allemewi. Cf. Note 55.

60. Zeisberger's description of the native's idea of the deity are interesting in this connection; see *Moravian Records*, I, 128 seq.

61. Lack of control over children was a marked characteristic of Indian social life; see *Moravian Records* I, 16, 76, 81.

62. Cf. accounts of native preachers advocating the violent driving away of sin by flagellation and use of emetics, *Moravian Records*, I, 134, 173.

63. Another instance of Zeisberger's ignoring the female portion of Indian society. It was doubtless due to acquiescence to the Indian custom of not allowing the women to have a part in public meetings.

64. Possibly nothing is so remarkable in Zeisberger's fifty years of continuous missionary service as his fearless plain speaking to the enemies of his work. His manner of life and teaching made him innumerable friends wherever he went; these friends and their moral support, in part, gave him his unequalled courage.

65. French Creek.

66. Franklin, Penna.
67. See Note 49.
68. See Note 44.
69. See Note 42.
70. See Note 31.
71. See Note 21.
72. See Note 17.
73. See Note 13.
74. Friedenshutten (II); see Note 7.
75. De Schweinitz's *Life of Zeisberger*, 335.
76. Particularly the killing of ten Indians in Cumberland County, Penna., January 10th, 1768.
77. Where Zeisberger had spent the winter; see Note 2.
78. A tributary of the Delaware, Northumberland Co., Penna.
79. Wechquetank, a Christian Indian town in Polk Township, Monroe Co., Penna., located between Wechquetank and Heads Creeks.
80. The name given to the parallel chains of the Blue Ridge in Pennsylvania by Conrad Weiser. Lord of Thuernstein was a title of Count Zinzendorf. The second was known as Wolf Mountain. Cf. Note 4.
81. The case of this ostracized woman having her sons with her is an interesting proof of the fact mentioned by Zeisberger that the Indian mothers owned the children, the father having no right to them. *Moravian Records*, I, 98-9.
82. See Note 5.
83. After emerging from the Great Swamp the Wyoming trail crossed Tobyhanna and the head of the Lehigh, thence four miles to the "Shades of Death" (the "deep, dark valley" Ettwein mentions), thence two miles to Bear Swamp, then across Bear Creek and over Moosic and Wilkes-Barre mountains and on nine miles to Wyoming. Cf. Note 5.
84. Moosic Mountain.
85. Now Plymouth. This trader is not mentioned in Hanna's Catalogue of Pennsylvania Indian traders.
86. Possibly a delegation to the treaty George Croghan made at Fort Pitt in April with a vast contingency of Indian delegates from many Nations. Penna. *Col. Rec.* IX, 481-2, 514-543.
87. Cf. Zeisberger's account of painted markers placed on Indian graves. *Moravian Records*, I, 89.
88. Cf. Note 6.
89. Hazirok, the Minisink Delaware town also called Lechaweke, above the mouth of the Lackawanna, near site of Pittston. Identical with Asserughney, twelve miles above Wyoming, visited by Montour and Scarrooyady in 1755 on their mission from Governor Morris to the Onondaga Council where anti-English Indians were found.

90. Cf. Note 9.

91. An elder of the young men of the Church. Companion of Zeisberger's on various tours.

92. A noted convert, formerly an Indian preacher of renown at Machiwihilusing—See De Schweinitz's *Life of Zeisberger*, 267, 271-2, 289, 310, 324-335, 427.

93. A native assistant. *Id.* 380-1, 536, 665.

94. Tunkhannock or Chinkanning, twenty miles above Lechawewe.

95. Cf. Note 8.

96. Points mentioned are between Tunkahannock and Wyalusing creeks.

97. *Ipomoea pandurata* (L.) a relative of the morning glory with tuberous roots.

98. See Note 7.

99. Nathaniel Seidel came to America from Germany in 1742. He filled various offices of responsibility and trust. For some time he was Superintendent of the Itinerating Missionaries of the Church, in which capacity he spent many years in travelling. In 1758 he was consecrated a bishop and three years later he succeeded Spangenberg as President of the Mission Board.

100. Shad or parr? Cf. *Moravian Records*, I, 37, where shad are called "May-fish"; cf. 145.

101. In 1765 two seals were killed at Wyoming—*Moravian Records*, I, 37.

102. During Pontiac's Rebellion and the Paxton Insurrection, the Colonial Council of Pennsylvania decided that the Christian Indians on the Bethlehem and Nazareth lands should be moved to Philadelphia. There they had been kept for a time in the Barracks.

103. Identical with Tschechequanningk, see Note 13.

104. Not identified.

105. Eghohowen, see Note 13.

106. Meaning Friedenshuetten, near Wyalusing Creek; cf. Note 7.

107. The missionary strikes here at the root of his life-time of difficulties—the effect of the non-Christian Indians on the converts, especially the heathenish customs of the nightly dance. This helps to explain the almost continuous migration of the mission towns.

108. Zeisberger and workers.

109. A Moravian missionary who was captured in 1755, dying after a terrible year and a half of captivity here near Tioga Point.

110. Cf. Notes 13, 103.

111. See Introduction, p.

112. In Carbon Co. on the Lehigh; on site of the present town of Weisport.

113. In 1767 we have seen that Zeisberger states there were forty houses here (Note 12); these evidently included all the cabins.

114. Cf. Note 30.

115. Christian Indians.

116. See Note 13.

117. Cayugas, one of the Six Nations.

118. Gachtochawunk, see Note 27.

119. The frequency and range of forest fires in the early days is little understood. Professor Shaler attributed the formation of the prairies in part to fires.

120. Spelled Pasigachkunk by Zeisberger in 1767; see Notes 31 and 32.

121. See Note 33.

122. Head of the Genesee, called Zoneschio Creek by Zeisberger in 1767; cf. Note 35.

123. For description of sweating ovens see *Moravian Records*, I, 26, 159.

124. Allegheny County, New York.

125. Hagastaaes or Hagastaak was the Chief of Zonnesschio, a powerful member of the Grand Council.

126. Probably the fierce land turtle *macrochelys lacertina* (Schweigger) known as "Alligator Snapper", having a length of 40 inches or more and perhaps the most ferocious and, for its size, the strongest of reptiles. Sea turtles never come ashore except to lay eggs.

127. In 1745, with formalities usual to such occasions, Zeisberger was adopted into the Confederacy of the Iroquois, into the tribe of the Onondagas, the clan of the Turtle, being given the name, *Ganousscracheri*, meaning, "on the pumpkin". On the same occasion two other Moravians were granted similar honor. Spangenberg was adopted into the Tribe of the Oneidas, the clan of the Bear, with the name, *Tgirhitontie*, meaning, "a row of trees". Schebosch received the name *Hajingonis*, meaning, "one who twists tobacco". Most of the missionaries were thus adopted, and always used their Indian names when among the Iroquois.

128. Christian Frederick Post, born at Conitz, in Polish Prussia, was a distinguished missionary among the Indians, with whom he was connected by marriage. He rendered peculiarly important services to the government of Pennsylvania in treating with the western Indians, in 1758. This made his name celebrated in the history of the Province. In 1761, he undertook the first mission in the Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio, and the following year initiated John Heckewelder to that work. Post eventually left the service of the Moravian Church. In 1764, he went to the Mosquito Coast, Central America, to start an independent mission. After two protracted sojourns there, he located in Germantown, Penna., in 1784. His final labors were under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal clergy. He died at Germantown in 1785, and was there buried in the "Lower Graveyard", where, about 1840, a marble slab with an inscription reciting his career was placed upon his grave. His first wife

was Rachel, a Wampanoag, baptized February 13, 1743, by Buettner, and died in 1747, at Bethlehem, where she lies buried. In 1749 he married Agnes, a Delaware, baptized by Cammerhof, March 5, 1749. She died in 1751, at Bethlehem. His third wife was a white woman. His idea in marrying the Indian women had been that this would facilitate his efforts in behalf of the Indians.

129. Tuscarawas, an old, abandoned Indian town, on the west bank of the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum, opposite the crossing-place of the trail from Pittsburg, on the line of Stark and Tuscarawas Counties, Ohio, near Bolivar, Ohio.

130. Ganatacheracht, or Ganatocherat, an Iroquois town of the Cayuga country, on the Chemung River, near the New York line.

131. The reference shows that the old name of Raystown for Bedford, Pa., had passed from use by 1767.

132. Ligonier, Pa.

133. Franklin, Pa.

134. Consult article "Cantico" in *Handbook of Am. Ind. Pt. I.*

135. Glikkikan became one of the most distinguished converts of Zeisberger, in the Western Mission. A captain, the speaker in the Council of Kaskaskunk, principal adviser of Packanke, the head chief of the Wolf Tribe of the Delawares, his fame as a warrior was eclipsed only by his reputation as an orator. He had fought in many a battle, both in the internece wars of the Indians and in the protracted struggle of the French against the English; and he had made many a Council-house ring with native oratory. At Venango, he had repulsed the Jesuits, who would have converted his nation; at Tuscarawas, Post had succumbed to his power. Zeisberger did not meet him until in June, 1769, at Lawunakhannek, (a temporary Christian Indian town, three miles above Goschgoschuenk, on the east bank of the Allegheny River, in Venango County, Penna., to which place the mission had been temporarily removed) whither he had come to oppose the mission. He was an honest man and open to conviction. When he met Zeisberger, the truth began to impress his mind. He soon declared his belief in the gospel, and was baptized on Christmas eve, 1770. Thenceforward, he was a faithful coadjutor of Zeisberger, accompanying him on many difficult journeys and delicate missions. He perished in the massacre at Gnaden-huetten, in Ohio, in 1782.

136. This must have been a trader.

137. Cf. *Moravian Records*, I.

138. What ground the missionary had for this remark cannot be known. The year (1768) is noted in the annals of the Six Nations for the settling of boundary lines on the East with the patentees in the Mohawk Valley and on the West at the famous Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Zeisberger perhaps inferred from Johnson's favorable attitude to the Walpole Company scheme that he desired to extend the northwestern

boundary also. See Stone's *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, II, Ch. XVI.

139. Evidently meaning the Fort Stanwix Treaty, held October 24 seq. 1768.

140. The Walpole Company.

141. Wyandots, see *Moravian Records*, I, index.

142. Heathen incantations conducted over sick persons. See *Moravian Records*, I.

143. In his work in New York Zeisberger and other missionaries had suffered more at the hands of women than men.

144. Many persons were inclined to question the tact of missionaries who, like Zeisberger, handled every question without gloves and struck instantly at the root of every evil. See Sir William Johnson, "Review of the past and present state of Indian trade and relations", quoted in Stone's *Life of Johnson*, II, 292.

145. Gekelemukpechuenk was the first capital of the Delaware nation in Ohio, on the north bank of the Tuscarawas River, in Oxford Township, Tuscarawas County. It occupied the outlots of Newcomerstown, and extended from the field next above the school-house to Nugen's Bridge.

146. Exceedingly vivid pictures of heathen debaucheries at Newcomerstown are given in the *Diary of Rev. David McClure*, 77 seq.

147. The present Canajoharie, Montgomery Co., N. Y.

148. In March of this year a treaty between the Six Nations and Cherokees was signed at Johnson Hall ending the immemorial warfare between them.

149. The sites of the first missionary cabins near Tionesta should be located by local antiquarians and appropriately marked.

150. Delaware town at mouth of the Kiskiminitas of 22 cabins in 1749 and doubtless larger now.

151. For descriptions of various feasts see *Moravian Records*, I, 136, seq.

152. For etiquette of entertainment of visitors see *Id.* 93.

153. Kaskaskunk was a Monsey Indian town, originally at the junction of the Shenango and Mahoning Rivers, in Lawrence County, Pennsylvania; afterward removed to the site of New Castle, Lawrence County. It was the residence of Packanke, Chief of the Wolf Tribe of the Delawares.

154. Possibly Col. William Crawford, who had settled with his family at "Stewart's Crossing", New Haven, Pa., in 1766, and next year became Washington's land agent in the West. See C. W. Butterfield, *Washington-Crawford Correspondence*, preface.

155. The famous son of Madame Montour, French widow of the Iroquois Chief Carondowana or Robert Hunter. He had been associated

with the Moravian work in New York, accompanying Zinzendorf to Wyoming in 1742 and Spangenberg to Onondaga in 1745.

156. Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

157. Too broadly stated. The continuous effort of the British ministry had been to enforce the Proclamation of 1763 forbidding settlement beyond the headwaters of Atlantic streams. The boundary line on the north ran from Kittanning on the Allegheny to the nearest fork of the west branch of the Susquehannah. The upper Allegheny valley and Seneca country was not, therefore, included in the purchase.

158. Or Kittannuenk, Kittanning, Armstrong Co., Pa.

159. Gendaskund joined himself to the Christian Indians in 1770, in an interesting manner. When the body of Christian Indians left Lawunakhanek (the temporary Christian Indian town, three miles above Goschgoschuenk, on the east bank of the Allegheny River, in Venango Co., Penna., to which place the Goschgoschuenk mission had been temporarily removed) and were passing Goschgoschuenk, on their way to the Beaver River, where they founded Languntoutenuenk, or Friedensstadt (City of Peace), in what is now Lawrence County, Penna., between the Shenango River and Slippery Rock Creek, a solitary canoe put off from the shore and joined them. It contained Gendaskund and his family. He was baptized on Christmas eve, 1770, at the same time with Glikkikan, receiving the name Jacob, Glikkikan being named Isaac.

160. Mequachake, the hereditary priesthood tribe of the Shawanees.

161. The delay of the Senecas in attending the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was due, according to Stone, to the death of a chieftain. *Life of Johnson*, II, 305. See Note 164.

162. Found near Oil City, Pa. See *Moravian Records*, I, 52-53, 163.

163. Much search has not given any clew to the location of this spot.

164. Portage between Mohawk and Wood Creek, the site of Fort Stanwix, now Rome, N. Y.

165. This corroborates Stone as cited in Note 160.

166. Later called "the Canoos, that is Oil Creek".

167. Pontiac's Rebellion or French and Indian War.

168. "Some of the dissenters had occasionally sent a missionary to the Oneidas and Senecas." Johnson in his "Review of the past, etc." In another paragraph he observes "had not many of the Indians been furnished by me with religious books \* \* \* they would now be almost entire strangers to the Christian religion". The books the Moravians saw might have been the gift of the Superintendent.

169. Chief of the Turkey Tribe of Delawares, living on the Beaver River.

170. Doubtless at Braddock's defeat.

171. Mathew Elliot was a Westmoreland County pioneer Indian trader. Was this his brother?
172. King Beaver.
173. Cf. *Moravian Records*, I, Note 253.
174. Cf. Note 143.
175. Cf. *Moravian Records*, I, 117.



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## EDITORIALANA.

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*E.O. Randall*

### DRAUSIN WULSIN.

Drausin Wulsin, a Life Member of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, died at his home in Cincinnati, November 14, 1910. His career is not only closely connected with the history and development of Cincinnati for nearly 70 years, but furnishes an example of the best type of American citizenship. What follows is but a brief sketch.

Mr. Wulsin was born in Louisiana, June 10, 1842, his parents moving to Cincinnati when he was but a child. He was educated in the public schools, Hughes High School, and the old Cincinnati Law School, completing his course, and obtaining his diploma from the latter in 1863. He at once enlisted in the 137th Ohio Volunteer regiment, serving during the Civil War. At the end of the war, he returned to Cincinnati, and was formally admitted to the Bar. In early years, he was a member of the city council of Cincinnati; he took a prominent part in shaping the ordinances relating to the Cincinnati Southern Railway, and many other matters of public interest. In later life, he was often consulted with reference to legislation, and assisted in putting into shape the acts of the General Assembly which provided for the incorporation and regulation of trust companies and creating and controlling pension funds for public school teachers. He was employed by the Ohio Bankers' Association and the Ohio State Board of Commerce to prepare a bill governing and regulating the banking business within the state, and from that bill the laws now in force were largely modeled. For many years before his death, he was a Trustee of the Public Library of Cincinnati, the interests of which were especially dear to his heart. Many gifts by public spirited citizens were originated and carried into effect under his professional advice and direction,—notably that to the Ohio Mechanics' Institute made by Mrs. Thos. J. Emery. In his career as a lawyer, he was eminently successful in the best sense of the term; his clients, his brother lawyers, and the courts, trusted him, followed his advice, and honored both him, and themselves, in so doing. He never accepted any public office which carried with it any remuneration. He believed in play as heartily and earnestly as he believed in work, and was one of the charter members of the Cincinnati Baseball Club when it was organized in July of 1866 as a purely amateur club, which played baseball for the vigorous exercise which the sport engendered, and for the honor and glory of winning the game.

His wife, a daughter of Enoch Terry Carson, survives him.

His was a busy life, well spent.

## MAJOR DAVID ZIEGLER.

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BY GEORGE A. KATZENBERGER.

A custom has grown up of commemorating the Centennial anniversary of the birth or death of prominent men as well as of other important events, and, as it is a hundred years since the death of the subject of this sketch, and I fail to find David Ziegler's name in any of the indices of the nineteen volumes of the publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, I have gathered a number of items concerning the first Mayor of Cincinnati in the belief that some recognition is due the memory of this pioneer and that the above named publication is the most fitting medium.

Besides, the share of the Germans in the wars of the United States has not been adequately recognized in the prevailing language, nearly all articles of appreciation of their services appearing in German books and magazines. I have been able to find but two articles of any length on the life and services of Ziegler, one, a biographical sketch of seven pages by Mary D. Steele of Dayton, Ohio, appearing in the *Magazine of Western History*, May, 1885, which article is reprinted in substance in Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, and the other by the leading German-American Historian, H. A. Rattermann of Cincinnati, being an article read by him before the Literary Club of Cincinnati in June, 1883. Mr. Rattermann, at the advanced age of eighty, is still gathering material, writing articles and editing his complete works which will appear in eighteen volumes, and in one of which appears a lengthy poem commemorating Ziegler's feats.

For centuries our European brothers have entered heartily into the pious duty of bringing to remembrance the character and deeds of their forefathers. But little over a century ago we were but three millions of people, huddled together upon the border land of the Atlantic, weak and regarded with scorn by

those to whom we owed allegiance, with the fear of the Red Man and the fear of the unknown West in our hearts; with the fear and the hate of the so-called mother country in our breasts. Men still living have seen the western line of civilization push steadily forward to the forests of Ohio, sweep beyond the Mississippi and strike across the plains to the west and leap to the Pacific. Men now living have seen all this; have seen a waste wilderness converted into a blooming garden dotted with the peaceful homes of more than ninety million people. Whatever may be our place in this great wonderland we ought not to be without a knowledge of the causes that made it what it is. We have no right to allow the names of those great men who won for us from the forests, the savages and wild beasts, our fair domain of fertile fields, to fade into oblivion.

One of the men of considerable importance in the Revolutionary War, and prominent in the conquest and development of early southern and western Ohio, was David Ziegler. He was born in the city of Heidelberg, on the Neckar in western Germany, August 16, 1748, according to one authority, but upon inquiry through civil and church authorities at Heidelberg, I have ascertained that one Johann David Ziegler's name appears recorded in a Lutheran register of births in the Providenz Kirche as having been born July 13, 1748, his father being Johann Heinrich Ziegler, hatmaker, and his mother Louise Friedericka, *nee* Kern. Of his family and the younger days of his life, little is known. His father, according to Rattermann, was an inn keeper, or vintner, whose inn was frequented largely by students of the University who had their "Paukboden" (a room for dueling or rapier-fighting) there. Whether these customary fights of the academicians stimulated Ziegler's appetite for war-like pursuits cannot be answered. However, in his earliest youth he possessed a liking for military life, and as the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire's wine cellar, as Klauprecht calls his immediate fatherland, the Neckar valley, did not give him sufficient play room for his ambitions, he is said to have served in the Seven Year's War under Frederick the Great, of whom he was an ardent admirer. Certain it is that later he went to Russia, and enlisted under the banners of Empress Catherine II, who had

just then declared war against the Ottoman Empire, 1768. Ziegler served under General Weissmann in the Campaign of this Celebrated Marshal in Wallachia, the lower Danubian Provinces, and the Crimea, during which time he participated, among other minor engagements, in the battles of Tulcza, Maczin and Babadag. After the conquest of the Crimea on the part of Russia when the peace of Kutschuk was concluded July 21, 1774, and after the larger part of the Russian army was disbanded, Ziegler resigned his commission.

He had served for almost six years with meritorious distinction, and been promoted to an officership. He had shown bravery on the field of battle, and was wounded on the head by a Turkish sabre, and as a mark of appreciation was awarded a badge and an honorable discharge.

A soldier from crown to feet he felt lonesome in the then peaceful Europe. At about the age of twenty-seven he emigrated to America settling in Lancaster County, Pa. Klauprecht says that he arrived in Philadelphia in 1775. It is not certain just when Ziegler came to this country, but it is certain that he was in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, when the news of the Battle of Lexington reached there. When the cry for resistance to British tyranny sounded over the land a meeting was held at Carlisle to deliberate upon the raising of volunteers, to resist by dint of arms the usurpations of the mother country, at which meeting David Ziegler was present. In June, 1775, he was commissioned 3rd Lieutenant in Captain Ross's Company which was recruited in Lancaster County, Pa., and immediately sent to escort an ammunition wagon, of which Washington's army was desperately in need, to Cambridge. This duty he carried out with such satisfaction that on June 25th he was advanced to Adjutant in Colonel William Thompson's Battalion of Sharpshooters. Colonel Thompson the more gladly accepted his services as he was aware of the fact that Ziegler was an experienced soldier and officer of a great European conflict and therefore familiar with the art of war. This Battalion consisted almost wholly of Germans and was, with the assistance of Ziegler so quickly and efficiently formed as to be the first organization outside of a Massachusetts regiment that appeared upon the scene

of war. After the first of January, 1776, it became the first regiment "of the army of the United Colonies commanded by his Excellency, George Washington, Esquire, General and Commander-in-Chief". A return dated headquarters at Cambridge August 18th, 1775, shows that there were three field officers, nine captains, twenty-seven lieutenants, the adjutant, quartermaster, surgeon and mate, twenty-nine sergeants, thirteen drums and fife and seven hundred and thirteen rank and file present fit for duty. This Battalion formed a picket guard of two thousand provincials, who, on the evening of the twenty-sixth of August took possession of and threw up entrenchments on Ploughed Hill, and on the morning of the twenty-seventh met with its first loss, private Simpson of Smith's Company, who was wounded in the leg and died therefrom. Other interesting details of the services of this Battalion can be found in "Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution", Vol. I, pp. 3-24.

That Ziegler, who believed in discipline, had his troubles with men unaccustomed to obedience, the prime requisite in a soldier, is evidenced by a cotemporary letter from which we quote:

"The remissness of discipline and care in our young officers has rendered the men rather insolent for good soldiers. They had twice before broken open our guard house and released their companions who were confined there for small crimes, and once it was with the utmost difficulty that they were kept from rescuing an offender in the presence of all their officers. They openly damned them and behaved with great insolence. However, the Colonel was pleased to pardon the men and all remained quiet; but on Sunday last the Adjutant having confined a Sergeant for neglect of duty and murmuring the men began again and threatened to take him out. The adjutant, being a man of spirit, seized the principal mutineer and put him in also, and coming to report the matter to the Colonel, where we were all sitting after dinner were alarmed with a huzzaing and upon going out found they had broken open the guard house and taken the man out."

The insubordination above detailed did not subside until Generals Washington, Lee and Greene came and ordered the mutineers surrounded with loaded guns and the ring leaders bound. The men were subsequently tried by General Court

Martial, convicted of mutiny, and fined twenty shillings each for the use of the hospital.

In a letter from Lieut. Colonel Hand to his wife dated Camp on Prospect Hill, 10th November, 1775, there is an account of an incident that must have pleased some of the men whom the adjutant had disciplined. "David Ziegler, who acts as Adjutant, tumbled over the bridge into ten or twelve feet of water; he got out safe with the damage of his rifle only." The ability shown by Ziegler in the efficient organization of this Battalion

was soon recognized by the military authorities, and when the army was reorganized he was promoted to the Second Lieutenancy in the First Regiment Continental Infantry, January 1; 1776. With this regiment Ziegler participated in the Battle of Long Island, August 27th, 1776, where he was severely wounded, and had to be transferred to the hospital. In Volume VI of the Journals of the Continental Congress it appears on page 904 that on October 25th, 1776, a resolution was offered "that two month's pay be advanced to Lieutenant David Ziegler,

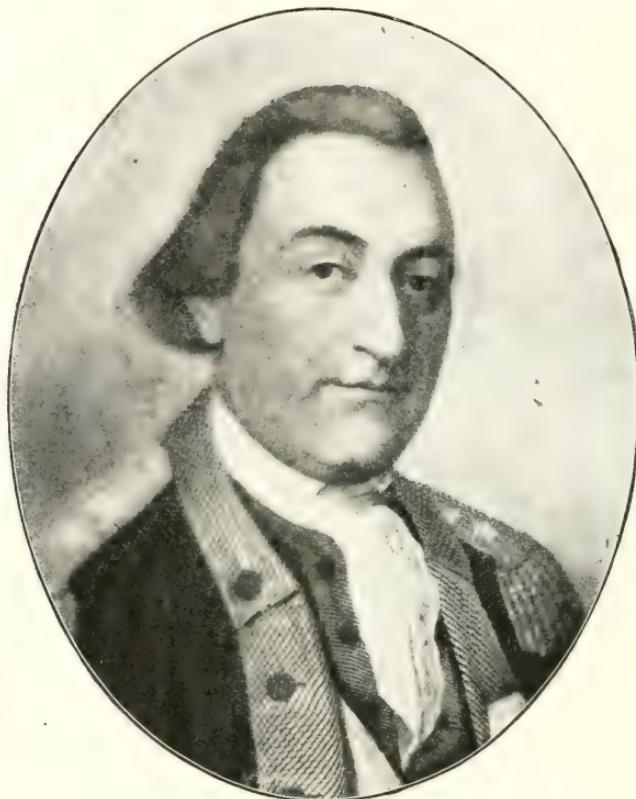
Flag of Col. Wm. Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen.



who was wounded and come to Philadelphia for the purpose of perfecting his cure." He was commissioned First Lieutenant January 16, 1777, and at the session of the Continental Congress of July 19th, 1777, a report was received from a Board of War of same date at which Mr. John Adams, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Clymer were present, "agreed, that Lieut. David Ziegler of Colonel Chamber's regiment who was wounded at Long Island and is incapable of doing field duty be appointed a Captain

in the corps of invalids, the relative rank of the officers of said corps to be hereafter settled."

When he rejoined his regiment he participated in the sufferings of that dreadful winter at Valley Forge. During the next campaign Ziegler fought in the battles of Brandywine, Bergen's



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Point, Germantown and Paoli, and in the year 1778 distinguished himself at the battle of Monmouth or Freehold church. He received a meritorious mentioning in the report of General St. Clair followed by a promotion to a Captaincy December 8, 1778. From his promotion until the end of the Revolution he served as

Senior Captain in a famous regiment which General Wayne said "always stepped first for glory." The same day that he was commissioned, Captain Ziegler was made Brigade Inspector of the Pennsylvania Brigade, Department of the South, he being like Von Steuben and DeKalb, an excellent drill master. Parenthetically on account of his name and coming with Lafayette, DeKalb was credited to France, but he was a German by birth, his father being Johann L. Kalb, a farmer near Altdorf, Germany.

We next find Ziegler detailed by General St. Clair, then the commander of the Department of Pennsylvania, as Commissary General of that department with headquarters at Waynesboro (from May, 1779 to May, 1780).

It is quite interesting in connection herewith to introduce extracts from a couple of official letters written by Ziegler during that period, as bearing upon the characteristics of the man, as well as on the progress he made in acquiring the English language during the short period of his stay in America. These letters, in his own handwriting, are preserved, among the numerous letters, in the Archives of the State of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg.

Extract from a letter of Ziegler to the Supreme Executive Council of Pa., dated at Waynesborough, May 4, 1779:

"Your Honors Instruction, received from Major Gen. St. Clair the first May, shall strictly observe. (On account of) The scarcity of some articals received by the last cargo, (I) Issued of every artical one Week(s). Allowance to the non commissionned Officers and Soldiers only, (and will) keep the rest for the Gentleman Officers, except spirit and Soap, which will be sufficient Quantity on hand for distribution for the Line this (these) 3 weeks the(y) approve of it, if it would have your Honours Approbation by doing so alwase (always) in the future. This moment have an opportunity to send with Captain Heydrick, of Philadelphia, 6000 dollars to Lieut. Col'o. Farmer.

"Honourable Gentlemen, I am, &c.,

"DAVID ZIEGLER,  
"Capt. 1st Penn'a Reg't."

Extract from a letter dated December 26th, 1779, and addressed to President Joseph Reed:

*Honourable General:*

"Great Uneasiness was among the Gentlemen Officers in not receiving Tea and Coffee, or some article in Liu of said. After informing them that it could not be procured, they all was Satisfy'd. Humbly I beg your Excellency of (for) a few Lines to the Officers Commanding the Division in regard to this, which would have more to say than if (I) was Able to Speak a week long to them, and would take (give) general Satisfaction in the Line. I am no writer to make Expressions, how well it would be for the Gentlemen which takes my place after this.

"The Artillery, 4th and 11th P. Regiments proposed to draw from me by the 1st January. I therefore send my Serjeant to Philad'a for forwarding a Large Cargo, which will be transported by Land from Philadelphia.

"Honourable General, I have the Honour to be &c.,

"DAVID ZIEGLER,

"*Capt 1 P. Reg't.*"

Ziegler, however, loved the active service better than the attending to the troublesome business affairs of the commissary department. Again and again he applied to the Supreme Executive Council to relieve him of this disagreeable position, so that he might take to the field once more—his original love. In the beginning of the year 1780, during a temporary illness, he was gratified by receiving a successor in the person of Captain Lytle, but the latter proved inefficient for the place, and Ziegler was again ordered on duty at the commissariat department. Under date of April 27, 1780, he writes to President Reed: "I should be very happy if Mr. Lytle could fulfil the post, as I would rather do my duty in the Regiment: but as it is the desire of the Honble. Counsil that I should resume the office (that of Commissary General) I should be very happy if agreeable to the Honble. Counsil that Mr. Lytle should issue and other (another) Cargo, and then if he does not get acquainted with the Business, I cannot refuse, etc."

Of the high estimation in which Ziegler's services were held in this department by the authorities, we have appreciative testimony in the correspondence between Colonel Francis Johnston and President Reed. Colonel Johnston, in a letter to Reed, dated Morristown, May 2, 1780, complains that the Council intended to again put Captain Ziegler in the charge of the commissary-general's department, and dismissing Mr. Lytle therefrom, to this President Reed replies, on May 10, 1780, as follows:

"Sir:—I received your Favour of the 2d Inst. As Mr. Lytle only acted during Capt. Ziegler's Absence from Camp, and the office of issuing the stores must be attended with a great deal of Trouble, we didn't expect our Intimation to Captain Ziegler could have given any Uneasiness. As we had no intention to hurt Mr. Lytle's feelings, or injure his character, we have no Difficulty in saying so, and hope on a like occasion he will express himself more cautiously. At the same Time from our Knowledge and Experience of Capt. Ziegler, the Regularity of his Accounts, his Accommodating himself to our Circumstances, and I may also add his respect and attention to the authority of the state, we did not desire any change, and always considered Mr. Lytle as temporary officer during Capt. Ziegler's Illness. \* \* \* If Capt. Ziegler can resume the office, it would be most agreeable to us; if he cannot, Mr. Lytle may continue, or the command'g Officer of the Division may nominate one who will be agreeable to the officers."

It seems that his wishes were gratified, for we find him, August 2, again with his Regiment at Verplanck's Point on the Hudson, where he presided that day at a Court-Martial. Nevertheless, when in the division to which his regiment belonged, (St. Clair's) there were derelictions in the commissary or quarter-master's departments, he would invariably be sent to attend to the matter. Notices like the following: "Capt. Ziegler was sent to look after the Commissary, who failed to appear;" and "Capt. Ziegler was dispatched to procure a new store of clothing, or of provisions"; or "Capt. Ziegler arrived this morning with his stores", may be found all through Feltman's or Denny's Journals.

He was, likewise, considered a model disciplinarian, and many proofs are extant on the order books of St. Clair's division testifying to this fact. For instance, on June 23, 1779: "Capt. Ziegler is to take the Command of Capt. Hamilton's Company, which appeared very lax at the manœuvres last evening, and drill the same, and he is to be obeyed and respected." Or the following notice from Feltman's Journal of March 31, 1782: "Capt. Ziegler was ordered to take command of Capt. Stevenson's Company for drilling, until otherwise commanded."

An excellent and intrepid soldier, he was particularly proud of the discipline and military appearance of the company he commanded, "which", as Alexander Garden, adjutant of Lee's

Legion testifies, "was a model company in the service." On one occasion, while Ziegler was commanded to conduct a number of prisoners to a British out-post, he addressed himself to his men, whom he was ambitious to show to the best advantage: assuming an erect posture and with an air of great dignity said: "Schentelmens, you are now to meet with civility the enemy of your country, and you must make dem regard you with profound and respectful admiration. Be please, den, to look great [German, gerade—(straight—erect)] to look graceful—to look like der Devil—to look like me."

The article of Miss Steele is authority for this paragraph. Once during the Revolutionary war he was taken prisoner. The following account of the adventure is given by The American Pioneer: "General Samuel Findley, Major Ziegler and Major Thomas Martin were captured by the British and imprisoned in Philadelphia. They made their escape, Martin killing the British officer in pursuit with a club. Reaching the house of a German Major Martin passed Ziegler—who was a Prussian—for a German doctor, who, by making pills of bread cured the landlady and escaped a bill of charges." A niece of the Major often related this story, but she said that he dosed the landlady with hair powder, shaken from a powder puff which he carried in a box in his pocket. His powder puff figured in many a joke at a later date. He was very witty and fond of a good story and numerous humorous anecdotes about him used to be in circulation among his friends.

In 1780 just before the mutiny of the troops at Morristown when an effort was at last being made to satisfy their just demand Ziegler was appointed by Pennsylvania State Clothier and Issuing Commissary of State stores, and was sent to President Reed with an estimate of the clothing needed for the troops by Wayne, who stated in his letter that the British were distributing proclamations among the poorly fed and scantily clothed colonial soldiers and added "Captain Ziegler will be able to inform Your Excellency of matters I don't choose to commit to paper."

Beginning Jan. 1, 1781, there was a revolt in the Pennsyl-

vania lines due to the wants and sufferings of the men and some misrepresentation that had been made in the matter of enlistment. Ziegler's company was not among the mutineers owing to the strict discipline enforced by him.



*Steuben  
May Gen*

The Pennsylvania line was almost wholly dissolved by the revolt, and it was a long time before the people recovered from the panic produced by it. The Congressional Committee, which was probably not very strict in examining the claims for discharge, set free about 1250 men, being more than one half of

the division. Measures were at once taken to recruit the Regiments and to reorganize the division. It was decided to reduce the number of regiments to six and it was of course necessary to retire a number of officers. Ziegler was among those retained, and participated in the Virginia campaign and was present at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, his company belonging to the division of Baron von Steuben that held the trenches on the day of capitulation.

The fall of Yorktown virtually ended the war. Nevertheless, there was as yet no peace, nor was there a cessation of hostilities agreed upon. So the Pennsylvanians under Wayne were ordered to South Carolina, where they joined the army of General Greene at Round O January 4, 1782. Meanwhile, Ziegler was again detached on commissary duties, but on March 29, 1782 rejoined his regiment. From that time on we have very little information of his movements, excepting that on April 12, he was sent with a flag of truce to the enemy's lines. (Feltman's Journal).

The end of the war came, however, and, though it was acceptable in the highest degree to the American people, it was not quite so welcome to the soldiers of fortune, who sought not only reputation but also support, by their swords. This was likewise the case with Captain Ziegler, retired Jan. 1, 1783.

Alexander Garden, in his "Anecdotes of the American Revolution," (Vol. ii, p. 370) relates the following of our meritorious officer: "I remember full well, when the army was reviewed for the last time on James' Island, and a 'feu de joie' was fired to celebrate the return of peace, that Captain Ziegler of the Pennsylvania line, after saluting General Greene, significantly shrugging his shoulders, and dropping the point of his sword, gave vent to an agony of tears. The review ended. On being questioned as to the cause of his emotion, he feelingly said: 'Although I am happy in the thought that my fellow soldiers may now seek their homes to enjoy the rewards of their toils and all the delights of domestic felicity, I cannot but remember that I am left alone on the busy scene of life, a wanderer, without friends, and without employment; and that a soldier from infancy, I am now compelled to seek a precarious subsistence in some new channel,

where ignorance and inability may mar my fortune, and condemn me to perpetual obscurity.' " Garden adds that that was only the purport of his speech in plain language, but that it was not the exact words, as Ziegler's usual style of speaking at that time was a mixture of German and English words, by which he formed a dialect not easily to be comprehended.



GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.

But Captain Ziegler should not end his life in obscurity—a fate which he dreaded so much. He was destined to continue a useful American citizen, and besides to earn the distinction of becoming the first chief magistrate of the metropolitan city of the Ohio Valley. With the chronicles of Cincinnati his name

will be forever associated, and when the historians of the "Queen City" delineate the events which indicate the tracings of that city's annals, they find the footmarks of David Ziegler imprinted so indelibly on its monumental rock that they cannot but take that cognizance thereof, which is due to one of its most distinguished and honorable citizens.

Before returning to the narrative of Ziegler's life it is proper to here insert a short account of an organization to which he belonged and of which membership he was very proud. Many representatives of the American army being assembled at the quarters of Major General Baron von Steuben in May 1783, the following was adopted:

It having pleased the Supreme Governor of the Universe, in the Disposition of Human Affairs, to cause the Separation of the Colonies of North America from the Domination of Great Britain, and after a bloody Conflict of Eight Years to establish them free and independent sovereign States, connected by Alliances founded on reciprocal Advantage with some of the Great Princes and Powers of the Earth.

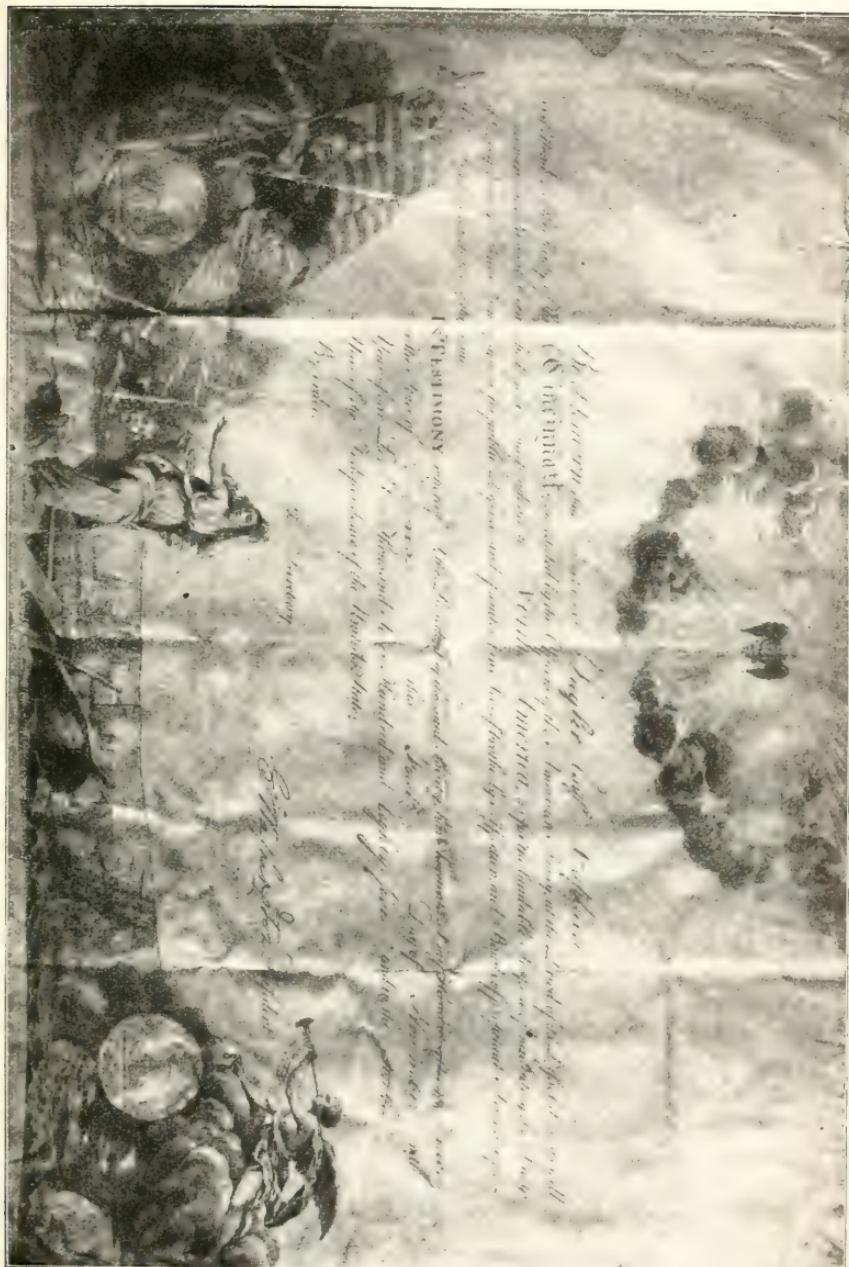
To perpetuate, therefore, as well the Remembrance of this Vast Event as the mutual Friendships which have been formed under the Pressure of common Danger, and in many Instances cemented by the Blood of the Parties, the Officers of the American Army do hereby in the most Solemn Manner associate, constitute, and combine themselves into one Society of Friends, to endure as long as they shall endure or any of their Eldest Male Posterity, and in failure thereof the Collateral Branches, who may be judged worthy of becoming its Supporters and Members.

The Officers of The American Army, having generally been taken from the Citizens of America, possess high Veneration for the Character of that illustrious Roman Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, and being resolved to follow his Example by returning to their Citizenship, they think they may with Propriety denominate themselves The Society of the Cincinnati.

The following Principles shall be immutable, and form the Basis of the Society of the Cincinnati.

An Incessant Attention to preserve inviolate those exalted Rights and Liberties of Human Nature for which they have fought and bled and without which the high Rank of a Rational Being is a Curse Instead of a Blessing.

An unalterable Determination to promote and cherish between the respective States, that Union and National Honour, so essentially necessary to their happiness, and the future Dignity of the American Empire.



David Ziegler's Certificate of Membership in the Society of Cincinnati, Nov. 1st, 1785.

Without giving further details of the institution of this Society and the various State branches, it is sufficient to add that on the fourth day of October, 1783, the state Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania met at the city tavern in Philadelphia pursuant to notice, elected Major General St. Clair President, Brigadier General Wayne Vice-President and Lieut. Colonel Harmar Secretary. However laudable the objects of the organization, it appears from a letter of General Irvine to Wayne in April 1784 "The Society of the Cincinnati is now bandied about in this quarter, and held up as a growing evil of vast importance—in short as the forerunner of the entire loss of liberty. I was informed yesterday that a scheme is on foot if the election can be carried, to disfranchise every member of the society as a preparation; in case they have spirit to resent—to drive every soul out of the state." Wayne in his reply correctly says "envy—that green-eyed monster, will stimulate them to seize with avidity every opportunity (or rather pretext) to depreciate the merits of those who have filled the breach, and bled at every pore, nor is caitiff ingratitude the growth of any particular country or climate."

Continuing the narrative of Ziegler's life we find that when the Revolutionary soldiers were mustered out of service, which in his case took place January 1st, 1783, he settled in Carlisle, Pa., where he opened a grocery and produce store. This was, however, not precisely in accordance with the disposition of our man at that period in his life. Born to military life, and having had eight years experience with American troops he doubtless realized the truth of some of the lessons to be drawn from the Revolution as set out in Upton's most valuable work "The Military Policy of the United States;"

That nearly all the dangers which threatened the cause of independence may be traced to the total inexperience of our statesmen in regard to military affairs, which led to vital mistakes in army legislation.

That the war resources of a nation can only be called forth and energetically directed by one general government to which the people owe a paramount allegiance.

No matter what reasons may be given for the adoption of an unwise military policy, that these are powerless to diminish or modify the disastrous effects which inevitably follow.

That when a nation attempts to combat disciplined troops with raw levies, it must maintain an army of at least twice the size of that of the enemy, and even then have no guarantee of success.

That neither voluntary enlistments based on patriotism, nor the bounty, can be relied upon to supply men for the army during a prolonged war.

That short enlistments are destructive to discipline, constantly expose an army to disaster, and inevitably prolong war with all its attendant dangers and expenses.

That regular troops, engaged for the war, are the only safe reliance of a government, and are in every point of view the best and most economical.

That troops become reliable only in proportion as they are disciplined; that discipline is the fruit of long training, and cannot be attained without the existence of a good corps of officers.

Notwithstanding adverse military conditions at that time (and which have since but partially been remedied by the Dick bill, making every member of the National Guard a soldier in the first line of defense, at the outbreak of war) Ziegler was desirous of returning to the army, and consequently was highly gratified when, through the intercession of General Irvine, he received again a Captain's commission from President Dickinson of Pennsylvania to take part in the then threatening Indian War.

In Rosengarten's "The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States," it is stated, "In the Indian border warfare between 1786 and 1791 a leading figure was that of David Ziegler, whose story is typical of that of many of our early German soldiers."

Ziegler was assigned to the first Pennsylvania regiment under command of Colonel Josiah Harmar and soon after detailed for the recruiting service and raised himself a company of which he was commissioned Captain, August 12, 1784. Strong's, Hamtramck's and Ziegler's Companies of the first regiment were on October 6, 1785, stationed at West Point. Major Wyllis arrived from New York Nov. 17, 1785, with orders for the troops to march immediately for the western frontier, where they arrived in December. They rested four days at Fort Pitt and then proceeded to Fort McIntosh, Beaver, Pa., twenty-nine miles

below Pittsburg. April 12th (1786) an express arrived at Fort McIntosh from Fort Pitt with information that a number of Indians had come in there the night before, their design unknown. Captain Ziegler set out immediately to ascertain their intentions. On May 4th Ziegler's and Strong's companies embarked for Muskingum where they arrived on May 8 and encamped in the woods a little distance from Fort Harmar, which had been built by Major Doughty the preceding autumn.

All along the winding river,  
And down the shady glen,  
On the hill and in the valley,  
The voice of war resounds again.

For the following four years these two companies marched from one place to another in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky, under command of Harmar, not remaining long anywhere, protecting settlers, guarding surveyors, and government agents or army officers who were endeavoring to make treaties with the Indians.

In addition to the fatigue and dangers of these summer marches through the wilderness, they often, in the winter during the first years, suffered from the lack of sufficient food. The Journal of one Joseph Buel records that one Christmas was very melancholy, as they had little to eat and nothing to make merry with. Later they cultivated fine gardens and orchards, at Fort Harmar, and their regularly employed hunters brought them game and venison from the woods. When they returned to winter headquarters at Marietta from their military expeditions, the soldiers collected boat loads of provisions from the settlers along the river.

During his stay at Fort Harmar Ziegler had a contest of rank with Captain Ferguson, who had joined the service after Ziegler, but whose company was mustered into the service of Congress a few days before Ziegler's. In spite of Colonel Harmar's siding with Captain Ferguson, Ziegler came out the victor, General Knox, then Secretary of War, ruling that the service began with the mustering of the troops by the Province of Pennsylvania, before Congress had resolved to make the army general, and of

the United States. Ziegler, therefore, was unquestionably the senior in the service, and had the priority of rank. When Washington—1789—became President, he settled the dispute by appointing Ferguson to a captaincy of the artillery in Harmar's little army, and promoting Ziegler to be Major of the regular army; "a deserved rebuke," writes Klauprecht, "to the intrigues that sought to shove a highly meritorious officer to the rear, because he happened to be a foreigner." (The records of this quarrel are fully set forth in "Pennsylvania Archives," O. S., vol. xi p. 240 *et seq.*, and the "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," vol xv, pp. 381, 394, 437.)

The little army led a stirring life though at times there was no fighting, and Major Ziegler and his company seem to have marched or embarked with every party of soldiers that was sent out. May 10th Captain Ziegler's company embarked for the Miami (Losantiville, Columbia, North Bend, etc.). The Military Journal of Ebenezer Denny stating that Captain Ziegler's company had then seventy men. Under date of June 15<sup>th</sup> Denny wrote to Colonel Harmar stating among other facts:

'The arrival of Captain Ziegler's Company has added much to the appearance of this place, and something to the other companies. For since, a better spirit of emulation has subsisted, which has been of service. Capt. Ziegler tells me the regimental book for last year was left at M'Intosh, and not used very well by the officers last winter; I am sorry for it, but hope you will get it.'

In July of this year Ziegler's and Finney's Company were sent from the Miami to the Rapids of the Ohio to protect the inhabitants from Indians. About October 1786 they erected Fort Finney, later they evacuated that place and erected a small works opposite Louisville.

During the summer of 1787 Harmar made his western expedition for the purpose of treating with the Indians and deciding difficulty among the settlers about public and private property.

An official report of the Colonel commanding to the Secretary of War under date of June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1787, reads:

The following is the arrangement which I have made of the troops and I hope it will meet with your approbation; at the rapids of the Ohio

Captain Finney, Captain Ziegler, Captain Strong, Captain Mercer and Captain Smith with their companies and Captain Ferguson with forty artillerymen and a brass three pounder, making, in the whole, three hundred and twenty nine men.



*Jos. Harmar*

From a camp on the Kentucky shore just below the rapids, on July 7th, 1787, Harmar writes:

Last night I detached Captain Ziegler with sixty six men in eight Kentucky boats, two large keel boats, one small keel boat and two canoes laden with flour, cattle, whiskey etc., being three months provisions for three hundred men with orders to halt at what is called the *Landing* and *carrying-place*, a few miles on this side of Greene River, called in Hutchinson's map "Buffalo River." Tomorrow morning, early, I shall

move with the troops and the remainder of the fleet and shall overtake Ziegler. I propose to march by land from this carrying place to Post Vincennes; the distance I am well informed is no more than fifty miles.

The foregoing is confirmed in Denny's Journal, and this expedition Buel refers to in the following extract:—

July 8th, 1787, our regiment embarked (at the falls of the Ohio, now Louisville, for Post Vincennes) at 6 o'clock A. M. on board of boats, with their horses and cattle.

July 10th, we arrived at Pigeons Creek one hundred miles below the falls, at one o'clock P. M., sent off our boats with an escort of 100 men to transport the baggage up the Wabash river.

July 27th an express arrived and informed that the Indians had attacked one of our boats and killed one man of Ziegler's Company and a number of inhabitants.

October 1st, Ziegler's and Strong's companies marched at 11 A. M. for the Rapids of the Ohio through the wilderness. The tour was more pleasant than in July.

October 7th, we arrived at the rapids a little before sunset after a fatiguing march.

October 29th, the two companies embarked at 11 A. M. for Fort Harmar.

November 1st, we continue our passage and make about fifteen miles a day up stream. Every night we encamp on the shore and embark early in the A. M.

November 21st, we had a fine breeze, and reached Muskingum at 10 o'clock A. M. and took possession of our old quarters.

Denny's notes for December 1787 and Jan., Feb., March, are meagre, but on March 9th he wrote:

"Although the time, for which the men now in service were enlisted, does not expire until mid summer, yet, to provide recruits and to have them out in season, it was thought advisable that a few officers should go to their respective States for that purpose. Accordingly Captain Ziegler and Bradford and Lieut. Pratt, all volunteering this service, set out."

Part of the spring and summer was spent by Ziegler in Pennsylvania securing recruits. A letter of Ziegler to President Franklin, dated Philadelphia, May 9, 1788, gives another side light on the man:

Abraham Widdow (Wittau) a soldier in my company, which was killed last July in the river Wabash by the Kickabus left in my posses-

sion his Patent of 200 acres in Westmoreland County granted him by this state, for his passed Services rendered last war, made no will, has also no relation in this Country to my knowledge, would wish of your honorable Body to be informed how to act (here part of manuscript missing) with respect of the Pay and Arrears is, when no will or relation are to be found, all those are gains to the United States According to the rules of the Articles of last war. When I marched from the city, Col. Harmar directed me to furnish my men with small Jackets (called fatigue coats) to preserve the New Clothing. I did so and purchased the cloathing and trimmings at a great price at Pittsburg and as Casualties will happen in a Company, meet with a considerable los, and also my fond is of a little Weight, mus for the Ambition Sex (for ambition's sake) have some again made, if only your honorable Body grant me the Allowance the Hon'ble House of Assembly voted to the recruiting officers (which was one Dollar pr men) and some Expenses rendering that service to enable me to outshin every one of the Western station (meaning that if the promised money were paid to him he would expend it for the better equipment of his company).

As indicated Ziegler had recruited a company with which he arrived at Fort Pitt early in August, 1788.

The following letter has been preserved:—

FORT HARMAR, August 7, 1788.

DEAR SIR:—I have received your several letters from Philadelphia and one from Carlisle. I expect this will find you at Fort Pitt. The Six Nations are on their way by water to the treaty, which is to be held at this post. I am informed that several vagabonds in the neighborhood of Wheeling, mean to fire upon these Indians on their passage down the Ohio to this post. Such a step might be attended with ruinous consequences. You are hereby ordered to take the said Indians under your protection and safely escort them to this garrison. Treat them kindly, and if any of these lawless rascals should presume to fire upon them, you are ordered to land and attack them in return, for their insolence and defiance of the supreme authority.

I am, dear sir &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

CAPT. DAVID ZIEGLER at Fort Pitt.

Captain Ziegler returned to Fort Harmar in September escorting from Fort Pitt, General Butler, Captain O'Hara and the friendly chief Cornplanter, with about 50 Seneca Indians, who came to negotiate a treaty with the United States government. Major Denny says that "Ziegler and his party were received with

a salute of three rounds of cannon and the music;" and Buel says "we saluted them with our field pieces which they returned with a running fire from their rifles."

"Soon after we left the point" Dr. Cutler writes in his journal "saw the soldiers and a number of Indians expected from Fort Pitt coming down on the other side of Kerr's Island. We crossed the river and met them. Captain Ziegler commanded the company of new levies of 55 men. There were about fifty Indians in canoes lashed together. The soldiers were paraded in a very large boat, stood upon a platform and were properly paraded with the American flag in the stern. Just as we got up to them they began to fire by platoons. After they had fired, the Indians fired from their canoes singly, or rather confusedly. The Indians had two small flags of thirteen stripes. They were answered from the garrison by train, who fired three field pieces; flag hoisted."

The foregoing is confirmed in an official letter of Harmar of September 4th who mentions Halftown, an Oneida Chief, as being in the party, and several of the six nations amounting in the whole to about fifty, including men, women and children.

In December 1789 General Harmar left Marietta for Fort Washington (Cincinnati, O.), which had been built a few months before by a body of troops under Major Doughty. The site selected was a little east of Broadway just outside the village limits and where Third street now crosses it. The fort was a solid substantial fortress of hewn timber, about 180 feet square, with block houses at the four angles, and two stories high. Fifteen acres were reserved there by the government. It was the most important and extensive military work then in the territories, and figured largely in the Indian wars of the period. General Harmar left Captain Ziegler at Fort Harmar with twenty soldiers. Those who remained received their pay the day before Christmas as is shown by Captain David Ziegler's receipt, dated December 24th, for \$859.45, paid himself and his company, which is still preserved.

"Work without hope draws nectar in a sieve,  
And hope without an object cannot live."

Ziegler, during his stay at Marietta, gained the good will of the inhabitants, and, says Klauprecht, (in his "Deutsche Chronik in der Geschichte des Ohio-Thales") the love and affection of a fair young lady belonging to one of the first and most respectable families in New England, Miss Lucy Anne Sheffield, youngest child of Benjamin and Hannah Coggeshall Sheffield. She was a native of Jamestown, Rhode Island, and came to



*Dear faithful  
Denny*

Marietta December 17, 1788, with her mother, then a widow. Mrs. Sheffield owned five shares in the funds of the Ohio Company. Of her party were also her daughters and sons-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Peirce, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Green, and their children, her brother, Daniel Coggeshall and family and her nephew, Wanton Casey, though all did not arrive the same day.

It will be interesting to note from the Journal of Denny, Ziegler's fellow officer, in the First Regiment of the army, the following extract:

"22nd (Feb. 1789), married this evening, Captain David Ziegler, of the First Regiment, to Miss Sheffield, only single daughter of Mrs. Sheffield of Campus Martius, City of Marietta. On this occasion I played the Captain's aid, and at his request the memorandums made. I exhibit a character not more awkward than strange at the celebration of Captain's nuptials, the first of the kind I have been a witness to."

Major Denny records at another place the following high compliment to Ziegler's soldiership—

"Ziegler is a German and has been in the Saxon service previous to our late war with England, takes pride in having the handsomest Company in the regiment, to do him justice his company has been always

considered the first in point of discipline and appearance. Four fifths of the company have been Germans, majority of the present are men who served in Germany."

Ziegler was in frequent communication with his superior officers as is shown by the following letter:—

FORT WASHINGTON, April 5, 1790.

DEAR SIR:—I have received your several letters of the 18th February, and the 6th, 24th, 26th and 27th ult.

You did right in sending the two men with the contractor's boat, as the Indians begin already to be very troublesome on the river near Scioto.

The clothing, sheet iron, cartridges and flints all arrived safe. The remainder of the clothing I shall be expecting when Lieut. Denny arrives.

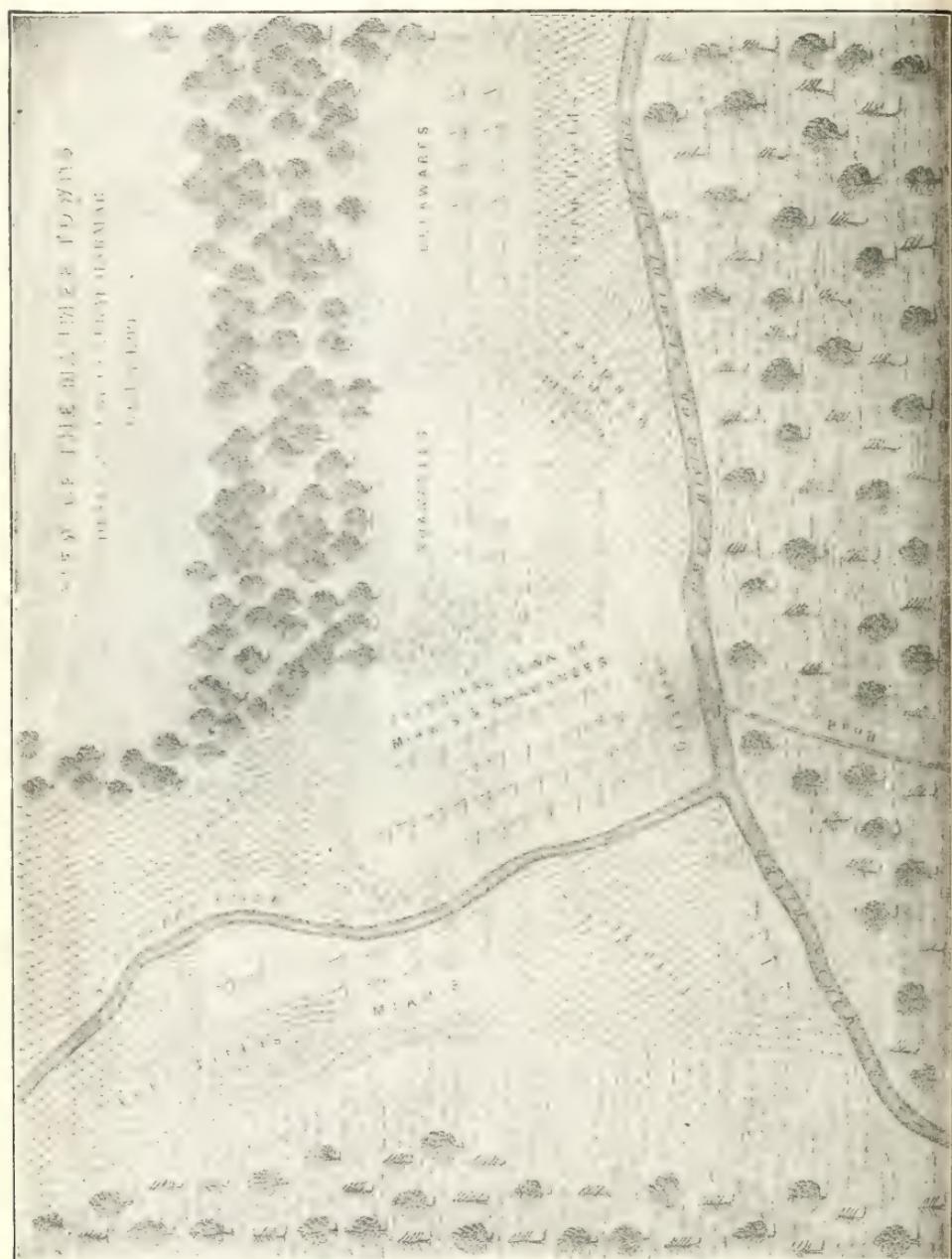
Mrs. Harmar joins me in respectful compliments to Mrs. Ziegler and Mrs. Hart. Give my compliments to all our New England acquaintances. I wish their settlement may prosper. We have a delightful situation here, and an excellent garrison; on danger, as there is with you, of an inundation.

I am dear sir, &c.,  
JOS. HARMAR.

CAPTAIN DAVID ZIEGLER, Commanding officer at Fort Harmar.

It was about January 2, 1790, when Governor St. Clair arrived at Losantiville, and being a member of the Society of Cincinnati, officially changed the name of the settlement to its present name.

In the summer or fall of 1790 Ziegler joined Harmar at Fort Washington, and in September of that year he accompanied Harmar in the expedition against the Indian villages near the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and which ended in a retreat to Fort Washington. The real object of the campaign was, however, accomplished by a party of six hundred militia under Colonel Hardin including fifty regulars under command of Captain Ziegler. They burned the deserted Indian villages and destroyed corn, provisions, and all the property of the Indians. After disbanding his army Harmar resigned his commission and demanded a court of inquiry at which Captain Ziegler was one of the principal witnesses, and attributed the defeat to the insubordination of the militia. Governor St. Clair wrote from Marietta, Nov. 26th, 1790, to the Secretary of War, "I got to this place

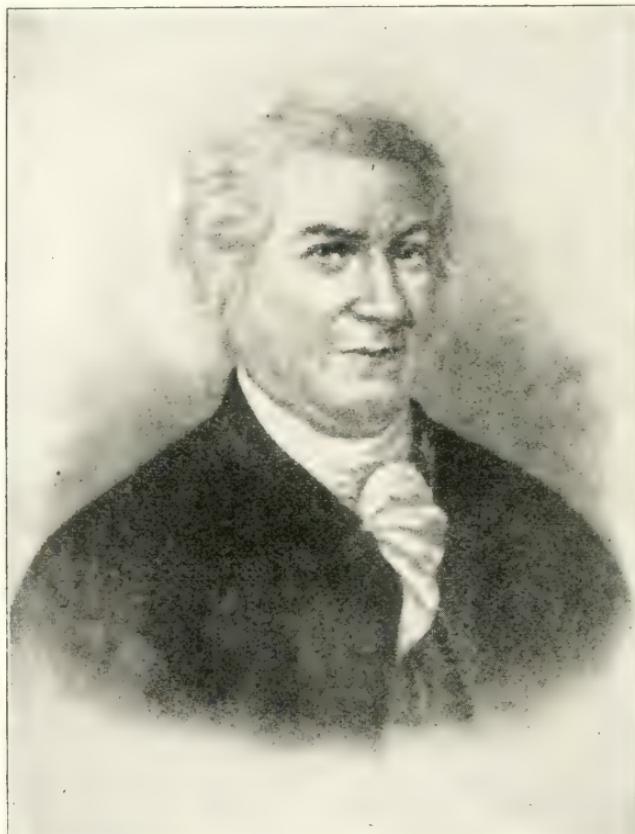


Saturday in company with the remains of Captain Ziegler's and Captain Hart's companies which formed the garrison at Fort Harmar; but there is not an ounce of provisions of any kind for them; nor is it known when any will arrive. The consequence is that provisions must be obtained from the inhabitants; but what can an infant settlement like this supply?"

St. Clair hoped that there would be soon received from the Indians "an humble supplication for peace," but in this St. Clair and the President were doomed to disappointment. The influence of the British and the effort of Brant to establish a confederacy restrained the Indians and led them to believe it possible to drive the whites back across the Ohio. The savages intoxicated with joy over their victory began to swarm all over the settlements on the Ohio, carrying death and destruction with them. They even rushed under the guns of Forts Washington and Harmar in the attempt to besiege them. Ziegler, who was commissioned Major of the First Regiment U. S. Infantry Oct. 22, 1790, cleared the Muskingum district from the besieging Indians and inaugurated such measures that the settlers once more felt confident under his command. In order to relieve the settlements from the threats of the intrepid red skins St. Clair resolved to undertake another campaign against their villages on the Maumee. An army of two thousand men, regulars and volunteers, was recruited and drilled and the militia of the territory and the adjoining Kentucky was called into service. Provisions and quartermaster's stores were collected at Forts Washington and Hamilton and vigorous preparations were made for an efficient stroke against the savages. Major Ziegler arrived at Fort Washington June 20, 1791, with soldiers from Fort Harmar, to join the army of St. Clair.

General St. Clair left Ludlow Station, now Cumminsville, to invade the Indian country September 17, 1791, with over 2,000 men and built Fort Jefferson near Greenville, Ohio. On the 24th of October the army began the march from Fort Jefferson in the direction of the present site of Greenville. Immediately after the outset the scarcity of provisions was felt in the army, especially the militia. A great dissatisfaction at once began, and on the 31st when beyond the present site of Green-

ville, several of the militia deserted. General St. Clair, being afraid that these deserters would plunder the baggage wagons which had been ordered up with fresh supplies dispatched Major Ziegler with a part of the First Regiment of regulars after the deserters with the object of protecting the stores. The details of this disastrous campaign have been very thoroughly depicted in



ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Wilson's "Peace of Mad Anthony," and in numerous articles heretofore appearing in the 19 volumes of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society Quarterly. In the Steele article appearing in the Magazine of Western History it is stated "Major Ziegler (promoted before this expedition) during this fierce and cruel engagement in which half the army was killed, exhibited the

coolness and courage which were characteristic of him. His duty obliging him to remain for some time stationary on a spot exposed from every direction to the bullets and tomahawks of the Indians, he seated himself on the stump of a tree, took out his pipe, filled and tranquilly smoked it, apparently utterly fearless of danger and unmoved by the harrowing sights around him."

On the arrival of the routed army at Fort Jefferson, St. Clair called a Council of the few field officers remaining (Major Ziegler being one) and all advised an immediate retreat to Fort Washington. It began at ten o'clock that night and for nearly two days they had nothing to eat. On the flight of the remnants of the army, Major Ziegler was ordered to cover the retreat. This was indeed a difficult and extremely dangerous task, but Ziegler was the man for the occasion and managed with cool circumspection to keep the discipline of his force intact until the fragments of St. Clair's army were again safely within the walls of Fort Washington, which they reached on the 8th of November. This was a time of danger and dread to all the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory. The Indians, sufficiently feared before, were emboldened by St. Clair's defeat. The garrison of the Fort as well as the people of Losantiville (or Cincinnati), again assumed a degree of confidence and security when St. Clair, in the absence of Colonel Wilkinson, the next in command, gave his powers as commander in chief into the hands of Major Ziegler, himself hastening to Philadelphia in December to lay before a court of inquiry the information about the causes of the calamity.

So Ziegler was, however for a short period only, the interimistic commander in chief of the United States forces. "Envy does merit as its shade pursue," and at once intrigues were begun for his decapitation. Ziegler knew full well that being inferior in rank to Wilkinson, Butler and others, he would have to give way at an early date to them; but the mean spirit with which the intriguers went to work was disgusting to him in the highest degree. Of course Wilkinson could not assume the command except upon proper orders which had not arrived. A know nothing, or nativistic spirit and jealousy which had been mani-

fested against Von Steuben, De Kalb and others not of English ancestry, was aroused. Wilkinson's resourcefulness at intriguing became notorious subsequently in the affair of Aaron Burr, and his treasonable letter can be found in Albach's "Annals of the West."

Roosevelt says of him in "The Winning of the West": "In character Wilkinson can only be compared to Benedict Arnold, though he entirely lacked Arnold's ability and brilliant courage."

Ziegler was made the victim of slanderous charges, he being accused of drunkenness and insubordination. The correspondence between General Wilkinson, Ziegler's successor, and Captain John Armstrong removes any doubt as to the secret activities against Ziegler. Weary of coping with schemes and machinations he not only gave up his command but resigned from the army, March 5th, 1792.

Prior to his resignation, Major Ziegler went to Philadelphia as a witness for St. Clair, before a congressional committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the failure of the last campaign. His testimony covers several pages of the St. Clair Papers and will not here be copied in detail. He confirms the uneasiness among the officers on the hearing of Hodgdon's appointment as quartermaster to the army, that the pack saddles were too large, that the tents were truly infamous by reason of which many hundred dozen cartridges were destroyed, and the troops not being kept dry were sick in great numbers. That the powder was poor, was proved from his own experiment, as he tried it and found it extremely weak; that it would not carry a ball, but a small distance compared with genuine powder. That he frequently noticed General St. Clair, the first up in the morning, going from shop to shop to inspect the preparations and that he seemed very uneasy at the delay in different preparations that were necessary for the campaign. He thought from his own experience he had never seen such a degree of trouble thrown on the shoulders of any other general that he had served with, as upon General St. Clair, from the absence of the Quartermaster and the preparations necessary to be made in his department in order to be able to take the field in season. That it was well for the quartermaster that he served in a republican govern-

ment; that the axes were too soft, and when used would bend up like a dumpling; that in consequence of the badness of the axes, he purchased a good one for himself, and used it vigorously no doubt, for he says even the officers showed a pride in working with the men in order to expedite the work.

Again quoting Upton, "the great lessons of the Revolution, as well as those taught by the recent Miami expedition were wasted upon the government." The committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate this disaster, reported that "the militia appear to have been composed principally of substitutes and totally ungovernable and regardless of military duty and subordination." In the opinion of the committee "the want of discipline and experience of the troops" was one of the main causes of the defeat. The report concludes as follows:

"The committee conceive it but just to the Commander in Chief to say that, in their opinion, the failure of the late expedition can in no respect be imputed to the conduct of St. Clair, either at any time before or during the action."

Ziegler's acts, while in command at Fort Washington, seem to have given general satisfaction, and no less an authority in those days than John C. Symmes in a letter to Captain Dayton dated January 17th, 1792, referring to the settlement at Coleraine (whither General St. Clair, by much importunity, had first sent a guard of six soldiers, and then ordered them back to Fort Washington,) says "but the next day General St. Clair set out for Philadelphia, and Major Ziegler came to the command. His good sense and humanity induced him to send the six men back again in one hour's time as I am told, after General St. Clair left Fort Washington, and he assured Mr. Dunlap that he should have more soldiers than six, rather than the station should break." Symmes naively adds, "Majors sometimes do more good than Generals."

Ziegler then went to farming. He bought a tract of land, then said to be four miles distant from Cincinnati, but at present in the first ward of the city, in the vicinity of the East End Garden, where he erected the first stone house in the territory, from which his farm acquired the *soubriquet* "Ziegler's Stone House

Farm." Farming however did not agree with his tastes and so he sold the farm to one John Smith, 1797, and then settled in Cincinnati where he opened a store on Front Street east of Sycamore, next to Griffin Yeatman's tavern.

He must at one time have been inclined to sell out, as he inserted the following characteristic advertisement in the local Western Spy:

"David Ziegler hereby announces that he wishes to sell his supply of wares, and wishes to rent his store to some man who can make money in it. My chief reason for giving up my business can be found in the scarcity of money and in the disinclination of the people to pay their debts. To those who did not patronize me to buy goods on credit, I extend my thanks. The Squire bringing along my ledger will soon pay his respects to those who are delinquent."

However Ziegler remained in business perhaps realizing as a later American poet wrote:

"Be firm; one constant element of luck  
Is genuine, solid, old Teutonic pluck."

Illustrating the form of advertisement of those days and the variety of goods kept by him for sale, we copy the following from *The Centinel of the North West Territory*, Feb. 15, 1794.

"David Ziegler has lately arrived from Philadelphia with a valuable and choice assortment of West Indian & dry goods, which are now exposed for sale at the store lately occupied by Robert Tait, deceased. Corn will be taken equal to cash."

On April 25th, 1795, he announces that he has just arrived from Philadelphia with a large assortment of drygoods and groceries.

A year later, April 9, 1796, David Ziegler announces that a fresh supply of dry goods, among which are beautiful Vest Patterns, *Pour de Roi*, *Pour Prince*, and *Pour Siegneur* and for Republican Gentlemen; the latter are superior to the first. He also offers stationery, Books, almost of every Religious Principle. Those who come first will first be served, as none will remain after they are sold.

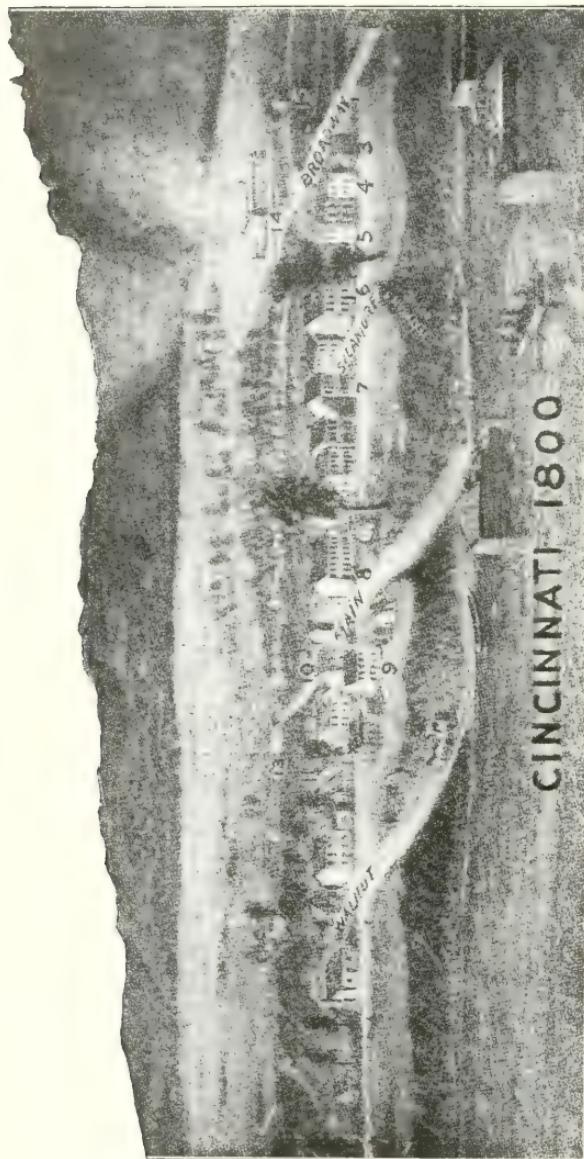
The news of Washington's death in December 1799 having reached Fort Washington, arrangements were made to have appropriate ceremonies, an account of which appears in the *Western Spy*, February 5, 1800. The morning of the solemn day was announced by sixteen discharges of cannon, in quick succession. At twelve o'clock the troops formed on the flat in front of the Garrison where they were joined by Captain Findlay's troop of horse, the Masonic brethren, and a large concourse of citizens, all eager to testify their high veneration for the character of the illustrious deceased, and the deep sense which they entertained of his loss by paying this mournful tribute of respect to his memory. The bier was received by the troops formed in lines with presented arms, officers, drums and colors saluting. The procession moved through different streets, minute guns firing from the garrison. Major Ziegler was one of the pall bearers, and arrived at the place representing that of interment the military halted, the troops leaning on reversed arms. The coffin having been deposited in the grave a prayer suitable for the occasion was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Wallace, after which the Masonic brethren performed their ceremony. Three discharges of musketry over the grave concluded the military ceremony. His excellency, Gov. St. Clair, then delivered an address.

We ascertain from Charles T. Greve's valuable *Centennial History of Cincinnati* that Independence Day was observed in 1800 at Cincinnati by the members of a political party, the Republicans, who had a dinner at Major Ziegler's.

By the year 1802 Cincinnati had grown rapidly, so much so that the legislature of the territory thought proper to incorporate the same as a village on January 2, 1802, vesting the legislative and executive power in a Board of Council of seven, a President, who was to act as the Chief Magistrate of the place, a Recorder, a Clerk and a Marshall.

#### JUNCTA JUVANT.

The first election was held on the 3rd of April, 1802, when Ziegler was chosen President of the town—that is to the Chief Magistracy—by a large majority. "This was expressly done," said Judge Burnet, "as a recognition of Ziegler's valuable ser-



1. Maj. William Ruffin Post Office. 2. Artificer's yard. 3. Charles Vattier. 4. James Smith. 5. David Ziegler. 6. Griffin Yeatman. 7. Martin Baum. 8. Col. Gibson. 9. Joel Williams. 10. Col. Israel Ludlow. 11. Green Tree Hotel. 12. Samuel Best. 13. Presbyterian Church. 14. Fort Washington. 15. Dr. Allison.

vices in the protection of the place during the perilous days of 1791-1792, as well as to make a public *amende* for the ill treatment which he had received at the hands of the General Government."

His residence at the time of his election to the Presidency of the Council was just east of Griffin Yeatman's tavern.

According to Henderson's Council, pages 8-9, "His was a stately and commanding presence, especially when he chose to array himself, literally, in the purple and fine linen of his elaborate wardrobe. His was an erect, military bearing, with broad shoulders, full round face. Smooth shaven (of course at the hand of John Arthurs, the first barber and hair dresser of the settlement and military post), with large regular features; in all a fine, open countenance, that challenged inspection and invited confidence. He had ceased to wear his hair "en queue" although the fashion was still quite in vogue, but used powder plentifully on his full natural hair, which was rolled back from forehead and temples, and fell behind upon the high collar of a plum colored velvet coat upon the left lapel of which glittered the great gold badge of the Society of the Cincinnati. Lace ruffles to his shirt, lace falls to his sleeves, a long buff waistcoat, close fitting knee breeches or smalls, silk stockings, highly polished shoes with silver buckles, and silver buttons on garments and at knees, made up his gala costume as a civilian. Such was the appearance in his fifty-fourth year of David Ziegler, the first President of Cincinnati's first Council."

The foregoing description is verified in several important points, by a beautiful miniature painted on ivory by Pine at Philadelphia in 1799, and now in the possession of Wm. C. Steele, of Rocky Ford, Colorado, to whom we are indebted for a photographic copy used in this article. The first ordinance passed by the Select Council was an appropriate one for a city to be known later as "Porkopolis." It was an ordinance for preventing swine from runing at large in certain places.

The next year Ziegler was unanimously reelected and would have been for a third term in 1804, had he not declined. An ordinance establishing a night watch for the more effectual prevention of fires was the last ordinance signed by David Ziegler

as President. About this time Cincinnati must have had about 750 inhabitants, having had 500 in 1795 increased to about 960 by 1805.

The principal affairs agitating the mind of the inhabitants



*David Ziegler Capt.*

at the time were, first, their own protection from the constant attacks of the Indians, who continued to swarm about the settlement until the Tecumseh war (1811), and second, the controlling of the rougher elements, who were at the time infesting

all the backwoods towns. Nor were the inhabitants themselves, in general of the finest class. Fights and gambling, brawls, thefts, murders, and plunder prevailed everywhere. Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, who visited the Ohio towns at an early period, and whose sons and descendants afterwards settled there, writes that the people of the town were, indeed, a hard set, and that drunkenness and fights were of daily occurrence. This testimony is corroborated by Judge Burnet in his "Notes on the Settlement of the Northwestern Territory." In an emergency of this kind, "Burgomaster" Ziegler was the suitable person to hold the reins of the unmanageable village team. He organized the militia of the town and enforced the most rigid discipline. Every able bodied man had to be a member of the militia and there was no skulking permitted from the drills and musters which were regularly held by the vigorous commander. Ziegler, likewise, established the rule which afterwards was adopted at most of the new settlements of the west, that all male persons over fourteen years of age, when they went to church on Sundays, had to bring with them their muskets, powder-flasks, bullet pouches, well filled, on penalty of a fine.

When Ziegler retired from the Chief Magistracy of the village he was unanimously chosen commander of the militia, and in the year 1807 he was the Adjutant General of Ohio. In a speech at Cincinnati in 1876 Mr. William P. Stockton stated that he had been a resident of the place for 69 years and well remembered that Ziegler, frequently in his official capacity, had the local militia paraded for review, more particularly when a large body of Indians were in the city, his motive being to impress the redskins. He was appointed by President Jefferson in 1804 the first Marshal of the Ohio District. In politics he was a Democratic-Republican, Judge Burnet says in his notes (p. 342) "Only four individuals in Cincinnati and its vicinity are now remembered who then (1800) advocated the election of Mr. Jefferson against Mr. Adams (Federalist). These were Major David Ziegler, William Henry Harrison, William McMillan and John Smith." In a land warrant granted to Ziegler in 1792 he is spoken of as "of the State of Pennsylvania." He also received from the State

of Pennsylvania in 1794 a patent for 500 acres of land in the eleventh donation district Allegheny Co. "in consideration of services rendered as a Captain in the late army of the United States."

His wife being a zealous Presbyterian, his name appears together with that of Martin Baum and others on a subscription list dated June 11th, 1794, for the purpose of further finishing the first meeting house which had been begun in 1792 and was a plain frame about 30 x 40 roofed and weatherboarded with clapboards but neither lathed, plastered nor ceiled. Mrs. Ziegler gave largely to the church and to every other good cause from her settlement in Cincinnati until her death. Again in 1812 when it became necessary to arrange for a larger building, we find that Mr. and Mrs. Ziegler subscribed the sum of \$400.00 towards the erection of a 68 x 85 feet brick church situated at the rear of the old building. Judging from tradition and the printed testimony of friends, few pioneer women were more highly esteemed and influential than she. Mrs. Ludlow writes: "Major Ziegler said to me on his first visit (April, 1797) our ladies are not gay, but they are extremely affectionate, one to the other, I believe he spoke the truth. Perfect harmony and good will appear to exist in all their intercourse." Certainly this could have been truly said of Mrs. Ziegler. Among the friends of the Zieglers whom Mrs. Ludlow mentions are the following gentlemen and their wives: Judge McMillan, Colonel Wallace, Judge Burnet, General Gano, General Findley, General Harrison, Judge J. C. Symmes, General St. Clair, Governor Sargeant, George Burnet, Dr. Allison, Jessie Hunt, John Smith, M. C. In the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio are a number of invitations which reflect upon the social life of that time. One reads, "The honor of Mrs. Findlay's company is solicited at a ball, on Friday evening, the 4th inst., at 7 o'clock, p. m., at Griffin Yeatman's Hotel. D. Ziegler, E. Stone, E. Cutler and N. Longworth Managers. July 1, 1806."

Major Ziegler was as warm hearted and generous as his wife and their married life was very happy. Some of Mrs. Ziegler's nieces or nephews were always with them. The nieces,

even to old age, talked with enthusiasm of these charming visits. The uncle and aunt were both fond of company, but Major Ziegler was especially gay and social in his tastes and habits, and no doubt shared as well as promoted all the amusements of these young relatives who in turn felt for him the warmest gratitude and affection.

Mrs. Ziegler describes one of these visits in a letter dated October 26th, 1806, written to a young lady in the east who was her father's house keeper and obliged that Fall to be content to amuse herself in Belpre with her diary and spinning wheel, while her sister and cousin were dancing and drinking tea with the belles and beaux of Cincinnati. She writes:

"Sophia and Susanne have been here more than six weeks. They go home tomorrow. Eliza goes with them to stay two or three weeks. When she returns Maria will go out. The girls had a variety of amusements, plays, balls, and tea parties. I could wish that you could have partaken of them, since I know you are fond of them. But it will be over when they get to Dayton, and I think they will want rest."

A curious old ball ticket, addressed to the Eliza of the letter, dated Cincinnati, Feb. 17, 1809, and printed, as was then the fashion, on the back of a playing card (the queen of hearts) is still in existence. The ball was given (in commemoration of Washington's birthday) at the Columbian Inn, on Wednesday evening 22nd, at 6 o'clock. "William Ruffin, E. H. Stall, J. Baymiller, J. W. Sloan, managers."

Visitors to Cincinnati, when it was a small place, were surprised by the luxurious manner of living and the generous hospitality of the merchants and retired army officers who resided there. Mrs. Ludlow, writing as early as 1797, says "the arrival of General Wilkinson has imparted an air of gayety to the town and groups of officers in uniform give a show of *fête*. There has been a succession of dinners and evening parties."

Major Ziegler shared the prevailing tastes and gladly entertained both friends and strangers.

A visitor to the town in the early part of the last century (Flint, in his letters) speaks of the well informed people from all parts of the world, of the ladies of "superior information,

dignity of deportment and affectionate kindness of character" whom he met in Cincinnati. He says that "the elegance of the houses, the parade of servants, the display of furniture, and more than all, the luxury of their over loaded tables, would compare with the better houses in the Atlantic cities." He gives this description of their market:

"In another place the Tunkers with their long and flowing beards have brought their teams with their fat mutton and fine flour. Fowls, domestic and wild turkeys, venison, those fine birds which are here called partridges, but which we call quails, all sorts of fruits and vegetables, equally excellent and cheap."

The abundant good cheer and hearty welcome guests received reminded him of accounts of old English hospitality. General Harrison, for instance, kept open house to all respectable visitors.

Mrs. Ludlow, describing Cincinnati in 1797, says that it was then "a village of wooden buildings with a garrison of soldiers. The society consisted of a small number of ladies, united by the most perfect good will, and desire for mutual happiness. The gentlemen were social and intelligent." For several of the latter, among whom she mentioned Major Ziegler, she felt "an almost fraternal regard," a regard which others whom the kindly Major at that or a later day, had welcomed with cordial and genial hospitality, shared with her.

A characteristic story is related by Mr. Israel Ludlow:

"Our brilliant Fourth of July Celebration was terminated by a sad accident. The party opposed to the Governor, glowing with all the heroism of 'Seventy-six' mounted a blunderbus on the bank of the river, and with a few hearts of steel made its shores resound, rivaling in their imagination the ordnance of the garrison. Delighted with their success, the load was increased in proportion to their enthusiasm, and when the 'Western Territory' was toasted the gun summoned every power within it carried its thunders through the Kentucky hills, and burst in pieces, Major Ziegler, on taking a view of the field reports as follows: wounded, four men; killed, one gun."

The Major's interest in the Order of the Cincinnati continued through life, and we find that the few years before his death he wrote the following letter to a fellow member:

CINCINNATI, June 4th, 1805.

DEAR SIR:—Captain Henry Kerberry of Colorado. Hartley's Regiment Penna. Line, late Adj't. General to the State of Maryland, at present the Navy Agent in this quarter, the long intimacy that subsisted between us and the long & Painful Service he rendered, in which he had the misfortune to be badly Wounded, make me bold to Addresse myself in his behalf to the Society of Pennsylvania for a seat in the State Society of Cincinnati, his Absence at the close of the War, and then residing Partly in the State of Maryland and Kentucky was the reason that he did not make application at the time when we formed and Arranged ourself, fully I am Persuaded that our friends will not only look over if there was any neglect, but have his name Assigned to the Book when after many Ages those may be found that belong to the Numbers that fought and Defended our right and privilege, the Amount of \$40. will by him, through my Agent in Philadelphia be paid at sight, the Diploma, if some be on hand may be forwarded to this place, where he will remain part of this Summer.

DAVID ZIEGLER.

ROBERT PATTON, *Esq.*

It appears from subsequent records of the society that Ziegler's request was complied with.

Ziegler was appointed Collector or Inspector of the Port (Egle and Greve both say Surveyor of the Port) in 1809, which position he held until the time of his death.

He died childless September 24th, 1811, at his residence on Broadway near the lower market, mourned by the entire inhabitants of the town whose first Chief Magistrate he had been. "The Western Spy" in its next edition contained the following memorial of Ziegler's death, clad in mourning borders:

"Died in this town on Tuesday evening, the 24th inst, David Ziegler, Esquire, Collector of the Port. He was a native of Germany, and came into Pennsylvania sometime before the commencement of the Revolutionary War. He was among the first in that war who entered the field as a sub-altern, in the cause of his adopted country, and in the course of it received several wounds,—maintaining on all occasions the character of a zealous, a brave and active officer, to the end of the glorious struggle."

After a brief account of his services, not necessary to repeat here, the obituary notice concluded;

From some cause of disgust, the Major soon afterwards resigned his commission, and once more retired to private life. He returned to

the western country, and commenced a successful commercial career in this town, until sickness disabled him, for several months before his death, from the further prosecution of business. He was a good husband, a good neighbor, a punctual dealer, and in truth an upright man.

The funeral of the deceased here, which was performed with great military pomp, is described in the same paper as follows:—

On Thursday the 26th instant, the corpse of Major Ziegler was interred with military honours, and was accompanied to the grave by the Harmonical society, who played on various wind-instruments during the procession, which was extremely numerous and respectable. The order of the procession was:

The Major's horse with his saddle, holster and pistols.

The clergy and Physicians of the town.

Cincinnati Band of Music.

The Military, Infantry, Capt. Mansfield; Artillery, Capt. Jenkinson; Cavalry, Capt. Sloan, with arms reversed.

Next came the hearse of the deceased, accompanied by the following pall-bearers:

Captain Sloan.

Captain Torrence.

Major Ruffin.

General Gano.



Captain Jenkinson.

Captain Carr.

Major Stanley.

Colonel Riddle.

Mourners.

Militia Officers in Uniform

Citizens.

His body was interred in the cemetery of the Presbyterian congregation, of whose official Board he was a member, on Fourth Street. On the Sunday evening following a funeral sermon was preached on his death by the Reverend Joshua L. Wilson at the Presbyterian Meeting House."

"Thus," says the Western Spy, "has America lost another of her Revolutionary officers."

This necrology was reprinted on October 2nd, 1811, in *Liberty Hall*, the political adversary of the deceased, with some remarks of its own.

Major Ziegler was a man of medium height, dark complexion, and proud military carriage, always polite and affable in his

manners. His face was round and bore the character of good nature bordering on humorousness. Judge Burnet said of him in connection with Martin Baum, another of Cincinnati's earliest and best citizens, that they were his two black German friends, he himself being of dark complexion.

According to the last will and testament, dated August 24, 1811, probated in Hamilton County, December 9, 1811, Ziegler died a wealthy man. To his sister, Mrs. Susannah Elizabeth Detrosch, he bequeathed \$3,000.00, and his wife's nephews and nieces he also remembered, one of the former, Joseph Peirce, named as his executor, received, besides the sum of \$500.00, a gold watch and the iron chest of the Major, his gold eagle seal and his diploma of the Cincinnati with all the immunities and privileges thereto belonging. The seal and diploma are now in the possession of J. Elliott Peirce, of Dayton, a grandson of Joseph Peirce. Another nephew of his wife, Charles R. Green, received \$500.00, Ziegler's sword and walking cane with gold head. Each of the four nieces, Phoebe Peirce, Sophia Cooper, Maria Green and Susan Green, received \$500.00. His wife, Lucy Anna, inherited the stately mansion, seven lots in the city, near Broadway, thirty acres of forest, a mill with one half section of land on Greenville Creek in the Miami district, two shares of stock in the Ohio Land Company, a farm in Columbia, his cash, and shares in the Miami exporting company, and in the Bank of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.

Mrs. Ziegler is represented as a very philanthropic woman, and was Treasurer of the Dorcas Society for the relief of the poor. She was said to be very attractive in person and manner. A letter writer of the last century describes her as very handsome. Her letters indicate that she was a woman of elevated character, and unusual intelligence. Colonel May was one of her Marietta friends and alludes to her when a bride, in his journal. Mrs. Israel Ludlow records her death in her diary in these affectionate words:

"A late paper from Cincinnati mentioned the decease of Mrs. Ziegler. My heart pays a tribute to her merit. Faithful, candid, and kind I ever found her, and life has lost another charm which gilded its sorrows with a smile of love. Dear and valuable Lucy Ziegler, my heart bids thee a short farewell."

I am indebted to Mrs. R. C. Schenck, of Dayton, for the following copy of a letter in her possession and written by Ziegler's sister to his wife.

BELoved AND DEAR LADY SISTER:

In compliance with my faithful promise to write to you, at least once every year as long as God spares my life, I do not fail to present these few lines through the goodness of the Kings banker at Amsterdam.

With the pious wish on the present New Year that the Heavenly Father would keep you this year and many others composed in purest contentment and in the best prosperity and not withdraw from me, your noble heart as the amiable consort of my ever memorable and in God reposing brother David.

His memory, will ever remain sacred with me and in your person I shall constantly honor the noble consort whom he so solely loved, and encompassed with love until death.

Lastly may God take you into His holy keeping and accomplish all your other actions through life according to His Holy will and pleasure, and as the great distance between us will not favor us with a personal acquaintance in this life it is my comfort that the beloved God will more closely unite us beyond the grave forever. In this sweet persuasion I embrace you in spirit as a sister, and with a composed mind in faithful truth honor you as a loving sister.

S. E. VON TRAGE,  
Heidelberg, 1. Jan. 1820.

P. S.—Commend me and my consort to the beloved Lord cousin Joseph Peirce, most affectionately.

Miss Steele's article gave the date of her death as 1820, and another source of information states that she removed to Dayton where she died. Her tombstone gives the date of her death November 18, 1820, in the 59th year of her age, and adds "The poor and needy found in her a friend to whom their petitions for relief were never presented in vain. In her a charitable disposition was united with the means of gratifying it."

In a history of Montgomery county I find that Joseph Peirce settled in Dayton, where one of his daughters married Robert W. Steele, one of whose daughters wrote the article in the *Magazine of Western History*, from which I have obtained much of the information of this article.

A generation followed and the comparatively unknown

marketplace became a magnificent city, gracefully recognized in Longfellow's praiseful song

"To the Queen of the West  
In her garlands dressed,  
On the banks of the beautiful river."



Grave of David Ziegler, Woodland Cemetery,  
Dayton, Ohio.

With the progress of time the old Presbyterian cemetery on the Fourth Street front had to give way to the pressure of commerce and industry, and under the rubbish and thorns was found the fallen headstone of Ziegler. Its brief biographical inscription revived the memory of the hero. A movement was

set on foot and in 1844 various German military and pioneer societies assembled at the old cemetery and participated in the transfer of the ashes of the early pioneer to their resting place in the cemetery on Twelfth street where they were again interred. But that cemetery has likewise disappeared, together with the stone bearing the legend of his memory.

In 1840 a movement was made in Dayton to establish a rural cemetery where every possible safeguard should be thrown around the resting place of the dead, and on the 7th day of June 1843 Woodland Cemetery was opened and the lots offered at public sale. Among the early interments in Woodland was that of Mrs. Ziegler, whose remains were removed from their former resting place and reinterred on the lot of D. C. Cooper, founder of the first grave yard in Dayton.

Several years later the remains of Major Ziegler were brought from Cincinnati together with the original tablet, bearing the following inscription:—

MAJOR DAVID ZIEGLER.

To whose memory this monumental  
Stone is erected,

Was born in the City of Heidelberg  
in the year 1748.

Having held a commission and  
served with reputation in the  
Army of Russia,  
he migrated to Pennsylvania.

In 1775  
he joined the standard of  
WASHINGTON

and served with honor in the Army  
of the Revolution,  
till by the Treaty of 1783 the  
Independence of his adopted country  
was acknowledged.

In the Western Country he served under  
Generals HARMAR and ST. CLAIR,  
and died in this city in  
Sept. 1811, universally  
esteemed and  
respected.

Doubtless further interesting details concerning this man's life and actions could be gleaned if I had access to governmental and state archives, but I feel amply repaid for the research thus far undertaken.



The above bronze tablet in the Memorial Hall at Dayton was placed by the citizens of German birth or ancestry in Montgomery County, and represents first Reverend Peter Mühlenberg casting aside his ministerial robe and appearing in the regiments of a Virginia Colonel, second, General Herchheimer, though wounded, winning a victory for the Colonists at Oriskany and third, General Von Steuben drilling recruits, all co-patriots with Ziegler.

Underneath the green lawn of beautiful Woodland Cemetery at Dayton, lies buried the first Chief Magistrate of the Great Metropolis of the Ohio Valley, unknown perhaps or forgotten by most of its inhabitants, oblivious of the fact that a true Cincinnatus, a noble warrior and a good citizen sleeps there his last sleep.

Tread lightly, this is hallowed ground! tread reverently here!  
Beneath this sod in silence sleeps, the brave old Pioneer,  
Who never quailed in darkest hour, whose heart ne'er felt a fear,  
Tread lightly then, and here bestow the tribute of a tear.



## ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS OF JACKSON COUNTY

BY WILLIAM C. MILLS.

### INTRODUCTION.

During the summer of 1905, by special request of a number of citizens and local archæologists of Jackson county, the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society sent an expedition into the county, under the direction of the writer, which examined a few of the many rock shelters, mounds and petroglyphs located in Lick, Liberty and Jackson townships. The object of the examination was to determine, if possible, whether the rock shelters and other places of abode were occupied for any great length of time as a domicile by prehistoric man or were used as a temporary and convenient stopping place for roving bands in search of food.

### TOPOGRAPHY.

Jackson county, for the most part, is very rough and hilly. The entire surface, taken as a whole, being an irregular succession of moderately high hills and deep ravines, making it undesirable for a permanent habitat for a people depending for their subsistence in some degree upon the cultivation of the soil.

Along the streams there are broad and beautiful valleys and in the eastern part of the county the hills exhibit more gradual slopes as compared to the western section of the county, where the conglomerate hills are often very steep, and the deep channels, cut through them by Salt Creek and its many tributaries, often present precipitous faces for a height of sixty feet or more, giving to the scenery a bold and mural character.

### SOIL.

The soil of Jackson county is not well adapted to the raising of cereals, as it is for the most part a thin covering over the rocks and this is especially true of the western part of the county,

where the hills and rocky ridges are simply the remnants of what was once a continuous rock strata.

In the central and eastern part of the county, where the blue and ferruginous limestones are found, the soil is richer but better adapted to grass although with proper treatment good quality of cereals are raised.

#### GEOLOGY.

From a geological point of view Jackson county has presented many interesting features, producing a coal of high standard, iron ore of superior quality, and from her salt springs perhaps the first salt produced, in a commercial way, in the state. The old Scioto Salt Works, then located on the banks of Salt Creek, near what is now the city of Jackson, was the first salt factory in the northwest to produce salt for the market.

#### HISTORICAL.

From the early histories of Ohio we find that salt was one of the most expensive of the necessities of the early settler and almost up to the time that Ohio was admitted into the Union as a state, all of the salt used was transported on horseback or in wagons across the mountains, causing the supply to be very often scanty and the price always very high. However, the early settlers found that Jackson county was a favorable hunting ground with the Indian, and perhaps through them the salt springs were located, and naturally the manufacture of salt from the brines would follow.

The exact date of the discovery of the salt springs by the whites is unknown, but it was probably early in the eighteenth century by the French Canadian fur traders through their barter with the Indians. The Virginia colonists did not attempt to make use of the salt springs until the close of the eighteenth century (1798), although they were familiar with their location and existence about the middle of the century.

The John Mitchell map of the British and French Dominions in North America, 1755, has a note of the salt licks and salt creeks furnishing salt for the inland country. Salt Creek is also marked upon this map. The saline water of this region was very

FIG. 1—Boone rock shelter at the base of bluff.



weak and it would often require ten to fifteen gallons of the water to make one pound of salt. The salt was distributed to the settlements by pack horses. So important was this source of supply to the inhabitants that, when Ohio was formed into a state, a tract of land six miles square, embracing the saline waters, was set apart by Congress for the use of the state. In 1804 an act was passed by the Legislature of Ohio regulating the management of this tract and appointing an agent to rent small lots on the borders of the creek for the manufacture of salt. Salt for the most part was made by evaporating the saline water, and this was done by constructing salt furnaces made by surrounding large iron kettles, of 30 to 40 gallons capacity, with stonework having a furnace beneath. But the large iron kettles were difficult to secure at this remote manufacturing site in the wilderness, and the slower process of evaporation by natural means was used during the summer season. This evaporation was accomplished by cutting out large wooden troughs and placing same in the sun, filled with salt water; also circular shallow holes were cut in the solid rock of the creek bottom and the salt water run into them. Several holes used for this purpose can still be seen in the creek bed near Boone Rock, but all traces of the old salt works are obliterated.

From an archæological standpoint the salt springs of Jackson county are of great interest, for within short distances from the springs are a number of rock shelters containing quantities of broken earthen vessels of the type of pre-Columbian man, indicating that he, too, was a frequenter of the saline springs in the never-ending search for food, for he, like all mankind in every clime, has searched the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdom in his struggle for existence.

Other evidence of prehistoric man's presence in Jackson county is not wanting, especially in the central and eastern part of the county along the many tributaries and headwaters of Salt Creek, where he has left many small monuments in the way of mounds often containing a single burial.

Mr. F. E. Bingman, the well-known architect of Jackson, has devoted much time and study to the archæological remains of Jackson county and has written a series of articles on the

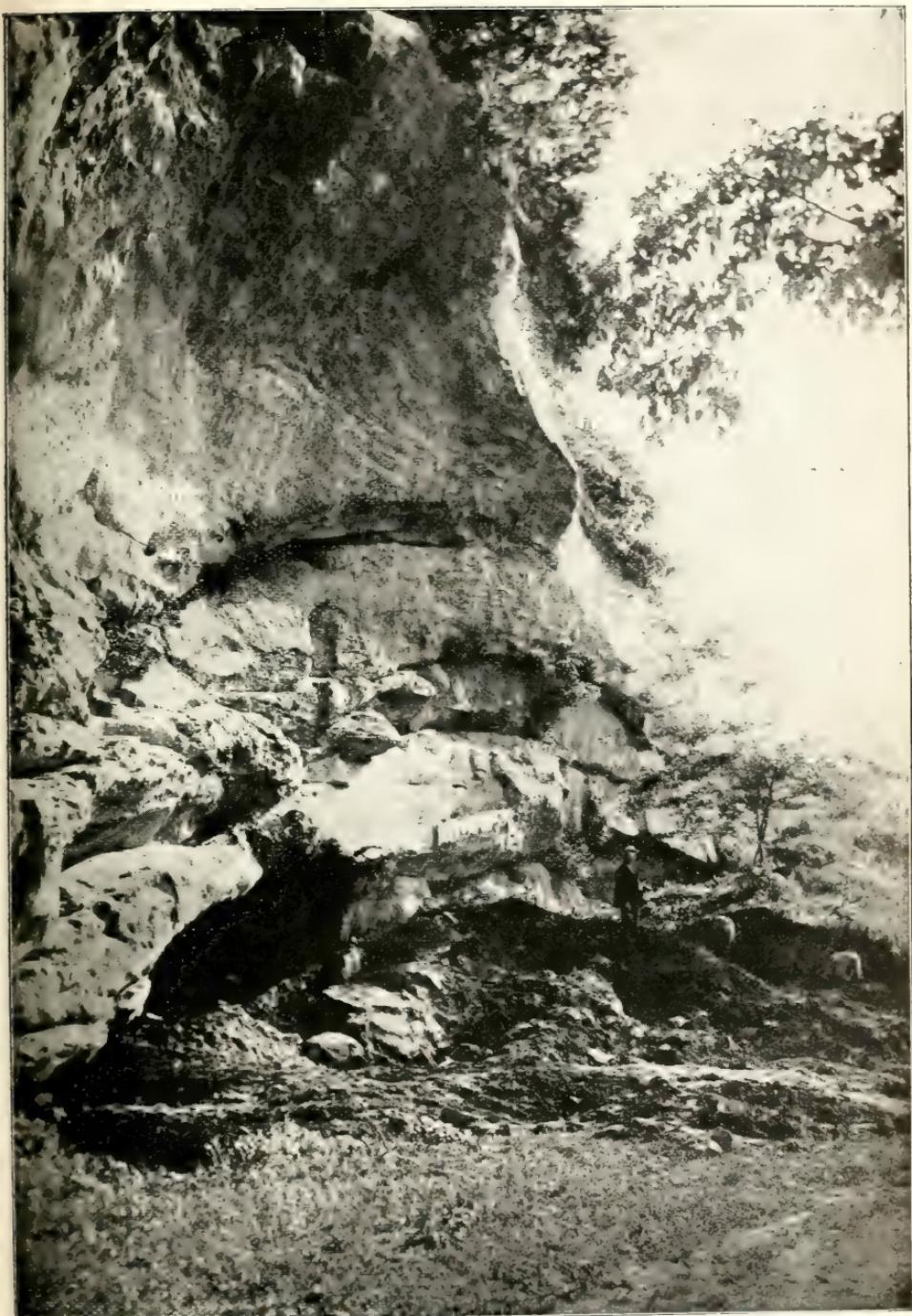


FIG. 2—Showing precipitous character of the bluff and the extent of the shelter.

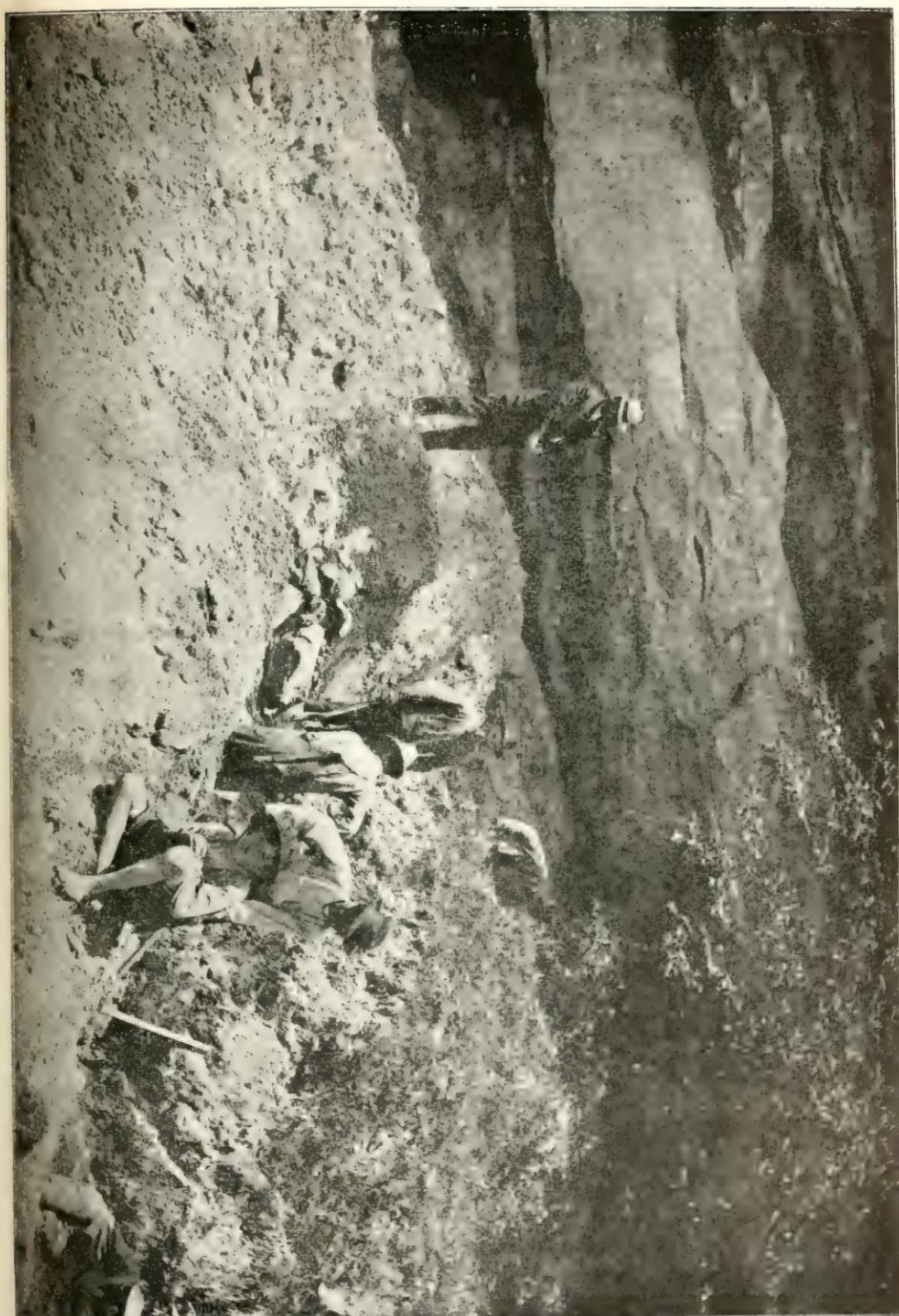
"Archæology of Jackson County," published in one of the local papers in Jackson, beginning January 9th, 1897, and he has kindly granted me the liberty of quoting from these articles, especially those concerning the rock shelters and mounds, as Mr. Bingman's writings are available only where files of the paper are kept.

Mr. Bingman did some excellent archæological work in locating mounds and village sites upon the archæological map of Jackson county, and we are greatly indebted to this gentleman for the exact location of practically all of the earthworks, mounds, village sites, and rock shelters in the county. A tabulated list of the various remains by townships is found herewith:

	<i>Mounds.</i>	<i>Shelters.</i>	<i>Villages.</i>	<i>Enclosures.</i>	<i>Petro-glyphs.</i>
Jackson township .....	..	2	1	..	1
Liberty township .....	3	17	1	..	..
Scioto township .....	7	2	1	..	..
Washington township .	6	2	1	..	..
Coal township .....	17	1	2	..	..
Lick township .....	44	4	9	2	..
Franklin township ....	31	..	5	1	..
Jefferson township ....	17	..	..	2	..
Milton township .....	23	..	..	..	..
Bloomfield township....	12	1	..	..	..
Madison township ....	8	2	..	..	..
	—	—	—	—	—
	168	31	20	5	1

#### ROCK SHELTERS.

During our stay in the county we examined three of the largest and most promising of the so-called rock shelters located in Lick, Liberty and Jackson townships. The examinations were made to determine, if possible, whether the shelters were occupied for any great length of time as a domicile by prehistoric man or were used only as a temporary and convenient stopping place for roving bands in search of food. These shelters are merely recesses cut into the soft conglomerate rock by the action of the water in the bed of the stream, and in the course of time, as the bed of the stream would change by becoming deeper or by the shifting of the current to the opposite side, where perhaps another



recess would be formed, and at the same time leave the opposite shelter accessible for man. This condition we find in many of the rocky gorges, with a series of large and small recesses, some of which would be available for man's use. At present about thirty-one of these recesses, both large and small, have been found to contain traces of human habitation.

Mr. Bingman, in his article "Archæology of Jackson County," gives a detailed account of the shelters, and we quote at some length from his article:

"The western half of Jackson county is underlaid with a heavy conglomerate, which is cut through in many places by the streams, presenting bold and precipitous cliffs. Many small caverns, admirably adapted for shelters, and overhanging rocks occur in and beneath these cliffs and were made use of here as elsewhere. These shelter caves in Jackson county are all small and low, and none of them bear any marks of having been enlarged artificially or altered in outline by the users. Many, especially the small overhanging cliffs, seem to have been used merely as temporary stopping places perhaps by small hunting parties, the accumulation of refuse being small, and the implements few, mostly flaked tools and weapons of chert. Pottery occurs sparingly in these, and domestic implements are absent. But the enormous amount of refuse, the presence occasionally of small stationary mortars and, in some, of numerous domestic implements of bone and large amounts of potsherds, point to long continued use. Of this latter class the shelter on the east half of lot 17, Liberty township, is a good example. Here the floor earth, the greater part of which is ashes, averaged fully three feet in depth over a space thirty by seventy-five feet. The refuse in this shelter is characteristic of all the larger ones and consists, besides the very large bulk of ashes, of bones of all the native mammalia, the larger ones invariably split to obtain the marrow, the bones of birds, the carapace and plastron of the common box-tortoise (*cistudo*), several species of *Unio*, of land and fresh water gasteropods, and the remains of crayfish. Fragments of burned sandstone, both large and small, constitute a noticeable proportion, while chips and small pieces of chert, and various

other materials used in the making of tools and weapons, are more or less abundant.

"The implements and ornaments scattered through the refuse



FIG. 4—Shell spoons.  $\frac{2}{3}$

are, generally, either those which had been broken and destroyed or small articles readily dropped and lost. Here are found the various flaked tools, arrow and spear heads, knives, scrapers,

drills and hatchets; bone needles, awls, daggers and beads; innumerable pieces of pottery; numerous small mortars cut in fragments of sandstone; hammer stones, balls and ornaments of slate.

"These implements and ornaments do not differ in any way from the usual ones of Indian make, from the village sites and elsewhere, being similar in workmanship, material and every other respect. Many rudely flaked tools, evidently rejects or unfinished implements, are also found in these shelters.

"The age and uses of these shelters may be easily determined from the shelters themselves and their contents. The bones and shells are generally in a good state of preservation, though in the dry cave earth they might resist decay indefinitely. But the implements, ornaments and pottery are all characteristic-ally Indian.

"The bones in these shelters are all of such animals as do now or have within a comparatively recent period inhabited the county."

#### BOONE ROCK SHELTER.

The first of the rock shelters to be examined by the survey was located within the corporated limits of the city of Jackson, and locally known as Boone Rock.\* This rock shelter is one of the largest in the county and, perhaps, the best and most favorably known because of the great number of Indian artifacts found intermingled with the soil covering the floor of the rock shelter, as well as ground adjacent to the shelter and precipitous bluff to the east. From this rock shelter, perhaps more than any other in the county, the local collectors have enriched their collections. Among the first of the local citizens to recognize the shelter as prolific for relic collectors were F. E. Bingman, Hon. P. W. Williams, Judge H. C. Miller and Mr. W. A. Steele. The

\*According to local tradition Daniel Boone was captured by the Indians and confined in an old Indian enclosure a few hundred yards back from the bluff. He made good his escape by jumping from the edge of the cliff into the branches of a large elm tree descending to the ground while his captors were compelled to make a circuitous route to reach the valley of Salt creek.

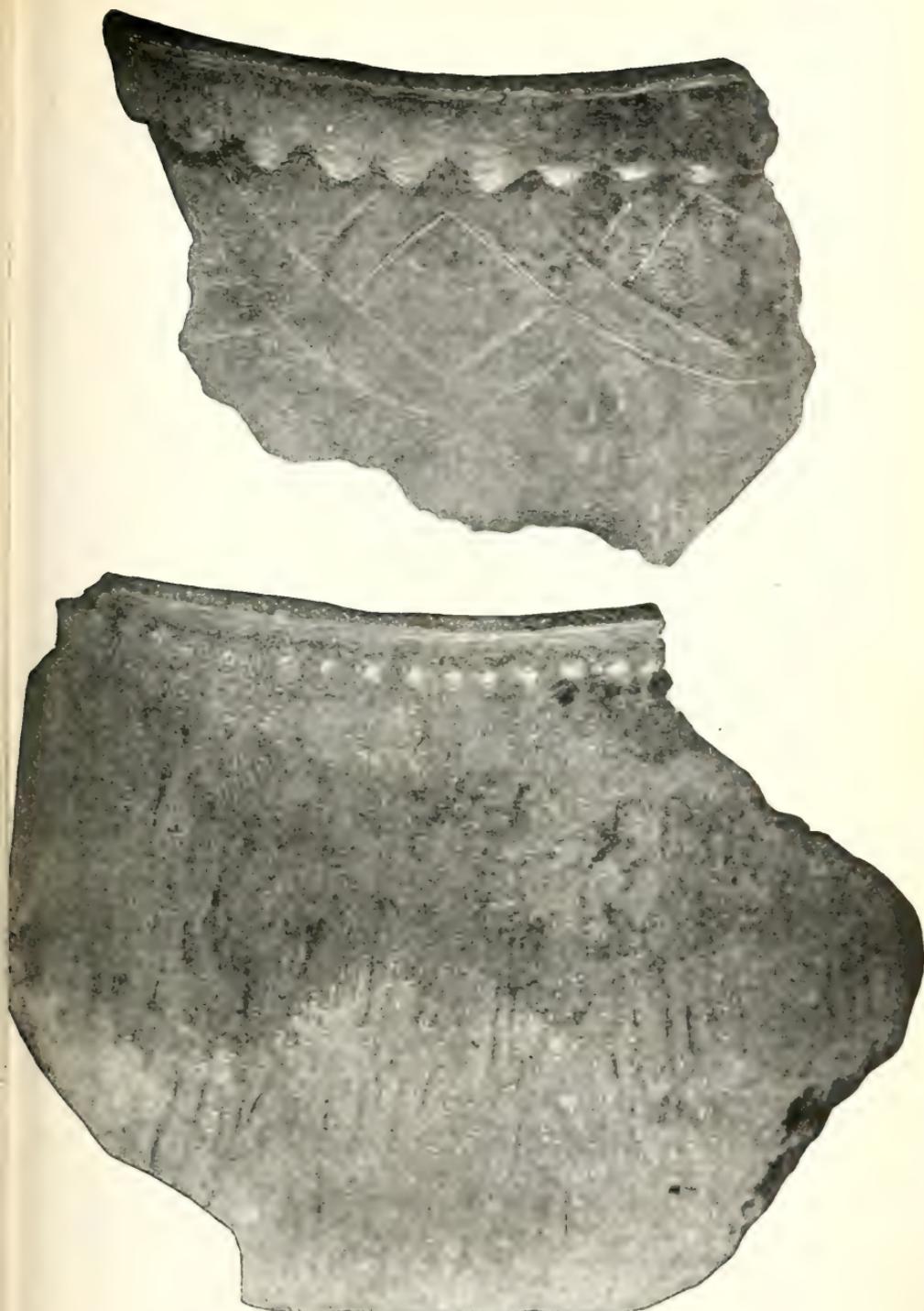


FIG. 5—Broken pottery, Fort Ancient culture.  $\frac{2}{3}$ .  
(185)

site was also generally worked over for many years by boys, and the artifacts found were scattered and many lost.

Judge Miller and Mr. Steele have both presented the major part of their finds to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which greatly augmented the number of artifacts found by the survey from this shelter.

Boone Rock shelter is located at the very base of a precipitous bluff, fifty-seven feet high. The highest point of the bluff is almost directly above the shelter, as shown in Figure 1, but gradually slopes east and west, and at a distance of a few hundred yards the hill becomes accessible for pedestrians and a gradual slope leads to the top. Figure 2 shows the precipitous character of the bluff and the extent of the shelter. The outside measurements of the shelter are fifty-four feet in length and the opening eleven feet high at the center, extending into the rock twelve and one-half feet, with a roof abruptly sloping to the floor of the shelter. At no place in the shelter could a man stand upright only at the very outer opening. At the center of the shelter the roof was three feet and one inch from the floor. The west end of the shelter was the lowest, and very likely on a level with the bed of the stream, for it was filled with water during almost the entire time of our explorations. The floor of the shelter gradually slopes upward to the east, so that the east end is two and one-half feet higher than the west end.

#### CONTENTS OF THE SHELTER.

The examination of Boone Rock shelter proper was very unsatisfactory, as every portion of the accumulation of debris within the enclosure had been many times dug over and disarranged by relic hunters in their search for artifacts, making it impossible to draw any conclusion from the few implements and ornaments found scattered through the debris upon the floor of the shelter. So completely had the work been done previous to our coming that a careful examination by the use of a small hand trowel only gave us one arrow point of flint, three bone beads, one bone awl made from the tarsometatarsus of the wild turkey, and six small pieces of pottery. The animal bones usually expected to be present in the habitation sites of prehistoric man

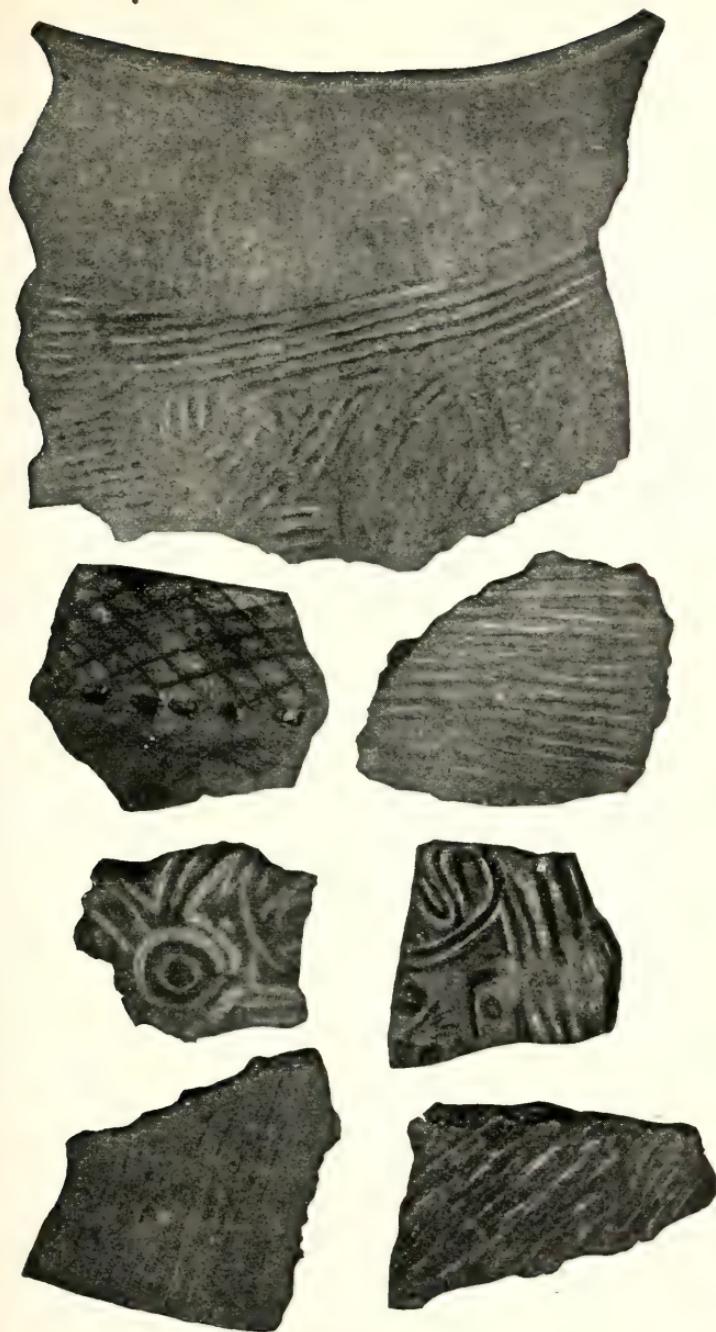


FIG. 6—Broken pottery, Hopewell culture.  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

were few within the shelter, and no doubt many had been carried away by former searchers; however, specimens of the bones of the Virginia deer, black bear, raccoon and wild turkey were secured.

Mr. John Steele, of Jackson, who had dug into the debris of the shelter many times during previous years, presented the following specimens taken from the shelter: Six arrow points and two spear points of flint, one bone bead, and one broken copper piece, presumably a part of a bracelet. It is Mr. Steele's opinion that many specimens have been exhumed from this shelter by boys from the neighborhood, and the majority of the specimens are lost.

#### THE SITE DIRECTLY IN FRONT OF THE SHELTER.

For many years the site directly in front of the rock shelter and extending a hundred feet or more in front of the bluff to the east was known as the "bone yard" to many local archaeologists and citizens of Jackson and vicinity, and many of them found healthful recreation in spending a few hours at the "diggings," thereby increasing their collections at every visit. Judge Miller, Mr. Bingman and Mr. Steele, of Jackson, and the late Mr. S. H. Vinson, of Dayton, Ohio, and many others, have all secured representative collections from here. Judge Miller and Mr. Steele continued the explorations directly to the south, after the writer ceased work at Boone Rock, and secured many animal bones, a few artifacts, a great quantity of broken pottery and flint spawls, all of which they presented to the museum. The work of Judge Miller and Mr. Steele fully verifies the conclusions formed by the writer from the explorations made by the survey directly in front of the shelter.

#### DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE CAMP SITE.

The examination of the camp site adjacent to the rock shelter was as systematically carried out as possible. The work was greatly retarded by the accumulation of large blocks of sand-stone that had fallen from the cliff, and when these could not be removed it was dangerous for the workmen to disturb the accumulation of camp site material beneath them. The camp site

for the most part, like the rock shelter, had been dug over in search of artifacts, etc., previous to the time of our examination, however, many phenomena of special interest were found during the progress of the work. From surface indications the

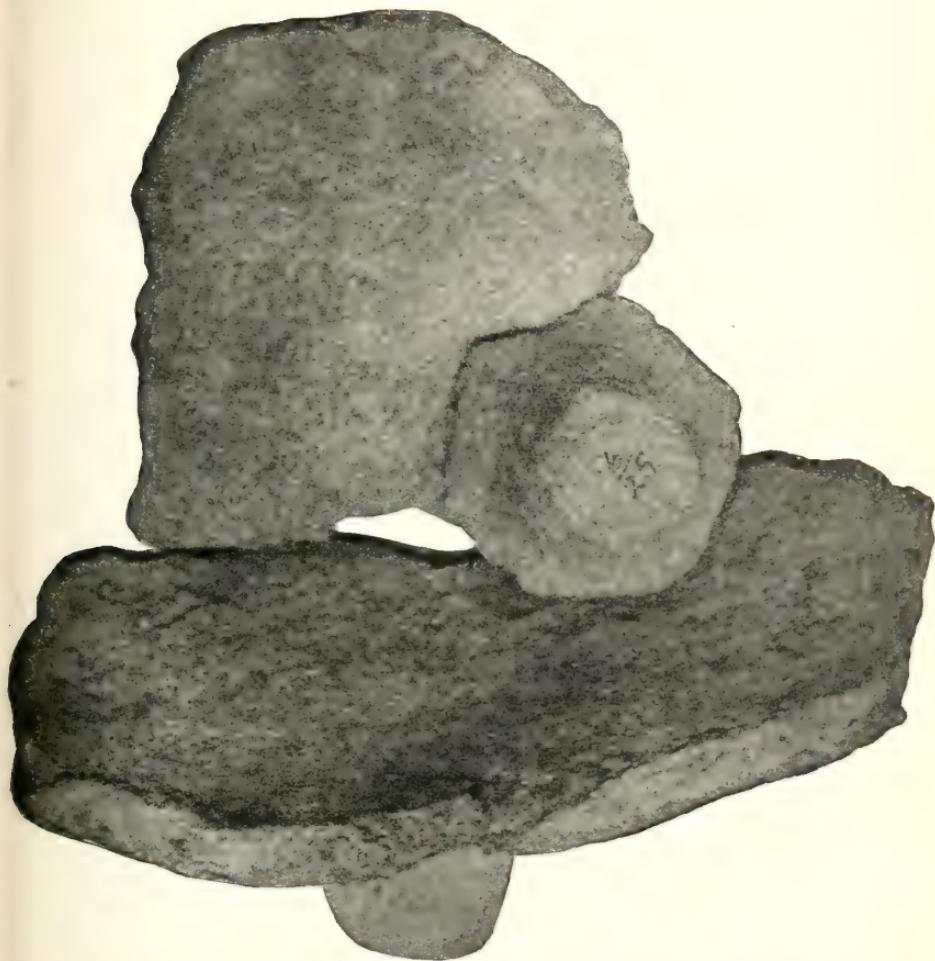


FIG. 7—Broken pottery, probably modern Indian. 2.

camp site extended to the east of the rock shelter, and a point was selected as far west of the shelter as possible, at a point indicating the bed of the stream, and a trench was dug fifty feet in length and extending at right angles to the bluff. The

depth of the trench at the bluff was ten and one-half inches, but gradually increased to eighteen inches at the end. The bottom of the trench was perhaps the bed of the stream at the time prehistoric man made his appearance in the Salt Creek valley. The trench was widened to the east and the dirt thrown back by the workmen so as not to interfere with possible finds. The soil was homogeneous throughout, very dark in color, and evidently deposited by the stream during freshets. No animal bones or other objects were found during the first ten feet of the widening of the trench, but the thickness of the black soil remained about the same. At this point the dark soil began to diminish and it became evident we were leaving the creek bed, as the old shore line of the stream was quite plain. At this point the black soil had diminished to fourteen inches, and during the next ten feet had practically disappeared, being replaced by a mixture of ashes, soil, animal bones, etc., while the sub-soil of clay had gradually increased to ten inches. Animal bones and broken pottery began to appear shortly after leaving the old shore line of the stream, and at five feet from this line the first fireplace was found. This fireplace was eleven feet from the bluff wall and measured approximately three feet in diameter, circular in form and outlined with flat pieces of sandstone five to six inches in thickness and placed four to five inches apart. Sandstone pieces were also placed on the inside of the circle in such a manner as to accommodate a number of pottery vessels at one time. The ground around and within the circular fireplace was covered with hundreds of pieces of pottery, animal bones and mussel shells.

The pottery was for the most part thick and, if one may judge from the fragments, of large capacity. Some of the fragments were decorated with textile markings, others with incised scroll decorations, but practically all of the pieces found around the fireplaces were plain and undecorated.

The pottery vessels were no doubt used for preparing food and also for the manufacture of salt from the saline waters. Directly to the south eight feet, and about the same distance from the old shore line, two more fireplaces were found in close proximity to each other, being separated only by a few inches. Both

were smaller than the first, being nineteen and twenty-two inches in diameter, respectively. The accumulation of animal bones and broken pottery was the same as found at the first fireplace. Upon the stones of the larger of the two fireplaces the broken pieces of a large bowl were found, which was no doubt left in place as the fragments undoubtedly all belonged to the same vessel. Over the top of each fireplace was a layer of dark soil varying in thickness from two to three inches, showing that high water had inundated the camp site and deposited the covering of silt. The animal bones secured around the fireplaces were all broken in fragments and no perfect bones of any of the animals were found, except a few of the large bones of the raccoon. The bones of the following animals were secured around the fireplaces: Virginia deer, black bear, elk, raccoon, gray fox, opossum, and the wild turkey.

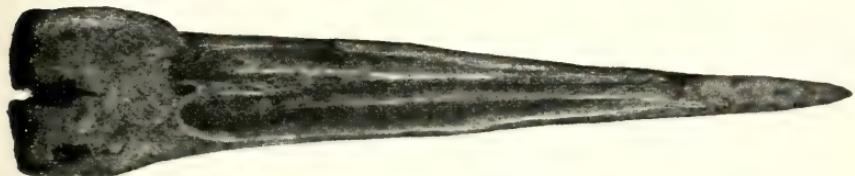


FIG. 8—Bone awl.  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

The extent of our examination was gradually lengthened to eighty-two feet south, instead of fifty feet, the length of the trench at the beginning of the examination. The old shore line of the stream was followed and in places the deposit of silt was four feet in thickness. In one of these deposits an almost perfect skeleton of the fisher (*mustela pennanti*) was found. The animal, not aquatic as the name would suggest, had evidently been drowned in the swift current and carried down the stream and deposited with the silt. No records have been made of the presence of this animal in the fauna of Ohio by the early naturalists. In 1910 its remains were found at the Baum Village Site<sup>1</sup>, and in 1909 the writer found two specimens among the

<sup>1</sup>Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio, Vol. 1, Part 3, Exploration of the Baum Village Site, 1906.

animal bones taken from a prehistoric cemetery at Madisonville, Ohio. However, no individual bones of the fisher were found in the camp site at Boone Rock.

The exploration was carried forward directly to the east, but it soon became apparent our examination would be unsatisfactory, as the site for the most part had been worked over by relic hunters for years; yet there was a possibility of discovering some clue to the occupants of the site by the finding of artifacts that might have been overlooked.

The space occupied as a camp site was less than one hundred feet square. The space was carefully examined and the animal bones, broken pottery and artifacts of bone and stone were noted. The following is a summary of the finds.

#### BURIALS.

Only parts of four skeletons were found. No. 1 was placed fifteen feet from the entrance to the shelter. Only the bones of the lower extremities were found; the remainder of the skeleton had been removed. No. 2 was placed near the bluff of the east shelter; only the bones of one arm and one leg remained. No. 3 was found near the center of the camp site; part of one arm and a few vertebra remained. No. 4 was found near the south edge of the camp; portions of the skull, a few vertebra and the innominate bones were exhumed; all the other bones had been removed. At two other places in the site human bones were found mingled with the soil and ashes, but all evidence of graves were obliterated.

#### BONES OF ANIMALS.

Bones of animals used for food were very abundant, but invariably in fragments. At the Baum Village Site<sup>1</sup> and Gartner Mound and Village Site<sup>2</sup> the metapodial bones of the deer and elk were invariably utilized for making scrapers, awls and needles, and seldom a metapodial bone was met with that was broken simply to extract the marrow, but at the Boone Rock site the opposite was found. All the metapodial bones, as well as

<sup>1</sup> Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio, Vol. 1, Part 3.

<sup>2</sup> Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio, Vol. 1, Part 2.

other large bones, were broken to extract the marrow, and not one bone was used to manufacture the awl or scraper, and this was the first phenomenon in material form to show that the primitive dwellers here were only temporary; that here was only a convenient camp for the chase and the manufacture of salt. Likewise the wing and leg bones of the wild turkey were here in their perfect state, while at the Baum Village Site and Gartner Mound and Village Site the wing bones of the wild turkey were manufactured into beads and the tarsometatarsus were manufac-

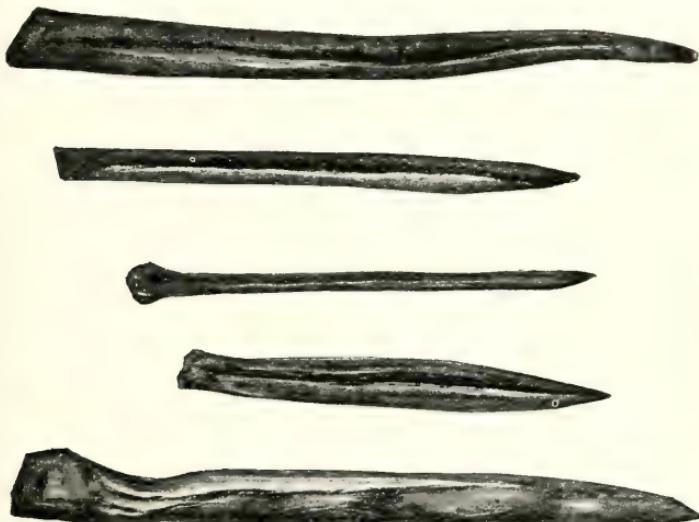


FIG. 9—Awls made from splinters of bone.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

tured into awls. In fact, certain bones of almost all the animals used for food, in the above mentioned sites, were used in the manufacture of implements and ornaments, but at the Boone site the bones were merely cast aside, and if it were not for the pottery, implements and ornaments of bone found in the site one would almost be willing to believe a new culture had come into the field.

A complete list of the animals whose bones were found in the site and identified after the bones had been examined in the laboratory are as follows:

*Virginia deer* (*Odocoileus virginianus*). Fully 50 per cent of all the bones in the Boone Rock camp site belong to the deer; the same as occurred at Gartner Mound and Village Site, and 35 per cent at the Baum Village Site. Ten (10) broken skulls of the deer were found, all full grown; nine were male with the antlers attached when killed, showing that the deer had been killed during the autumn or winter months; one of the ten skulls was a female.

*Elk* (*Cervus canadensis*). No skulls of this large animal were found, but the broken parts of the large bones were quite plentiful as compared to the Baum Village Site.

*Raccoon* (*Procyon lotor*). Another favorite animal with prehistoric man, and his remains were in evidence in every part of the camp site.

*Gray Fox* (*Urocyon virginianus*). The bones of this animal were found in almost every part of the camp site and were next in abundance to the raccoon.

*Black Bear* (*Ursus americanus*). This animal was found sparingly, although parts of two skulls and a number of lower jaws, together with parts of the large and heavy leg bones were found in and around the fireplaces.

*Wolf* (*Canis occidentalis*). Only a few broken leg bones and one molar were found.

*Mountain Lion* (*Felis concolor*). Only a part of a lower jaw (teeth removed) and one distal end of humerus.

*Wild Cat* (*Lynx rufa*). Parts of several skulls and lower jaws were found.

*Otter* (*Lutra canadensis*). Found sparingly.

*Mink* (*Putorius vison*). Only a few bones.

*Oppossum* (*Didelphs virginianus*). Only a few bones of this animal were found.

*Beaver* (*Castor canadensis*). Only a few bones of this animal were found.

*Gray Squirrel* (*Sciurus carolinensis*). One single specimen of femur found by Judge Miller.

*Ground Hog* (*Arctomys monax*). Found sparingly.

*Box Turtle* (*Cestudo virbinea*). The bones of the box turtle were frequently met with.



FIG. 10—Buzzard rock shelter.

*Wild Turkey* (*Meleogris gallaparo*). The bones of this bird were found in every portion of the camp site.

While this list comprises the major part of all the animals found in this section during prehistoric times, the greater part of the bones belong to deer, elk, raccoon, bear, gray fox, and the wild turkey. While the other animals, like the mountain lion, wild cat, wolf, mink, opossum, beaver, and ground hog, were represented by only a few bones.

The great number of mussel shells found throughout the site indicate the use of the mussel for food, and many of the shells show use as a spoon, as illustrated in Fig. 4. The presence of the mussel shells also show that the camp site was occupied during the spring and summer, as well as fall and winter, as shown by the bones of the deer.

#### POTTERY.

The pottery fragments were everywhere abundant in the camp site, showing that vessels for cooking and for use in the manufacture of salt were universally used. The survey collected almost a thousand broken pieces, while perhaps as many more pieces, although smaller in size, were left in the trenches. Judge Miller also sent to the museum more than three hundred pieces taken from a point to the south just outside of the camp site proper. A collection of this pottery might be selected which when compared with pottery from the Fort Ancient culture could be readily classed as belonging to that culture; again, another lot might be selected and compared with the Hopewell pottery and likewise could be classed with this culture; still a third selection could be made that could not be classed with either of the two cultures mentioned, and might be considered as belonging to the historic Indians.

It is quite evident from the finds that both the prehistoric and historic Indian cultures occupied the camp site, but on account of the disturbed condition of the site no definite conclusions could be made as to the prehistoric culture occupying the site first. However, the undisturbed portion around the fire-places revealed only the Fort Ancient culture, yet on the same level directly to the east, in the disturbed portion, pottery of all

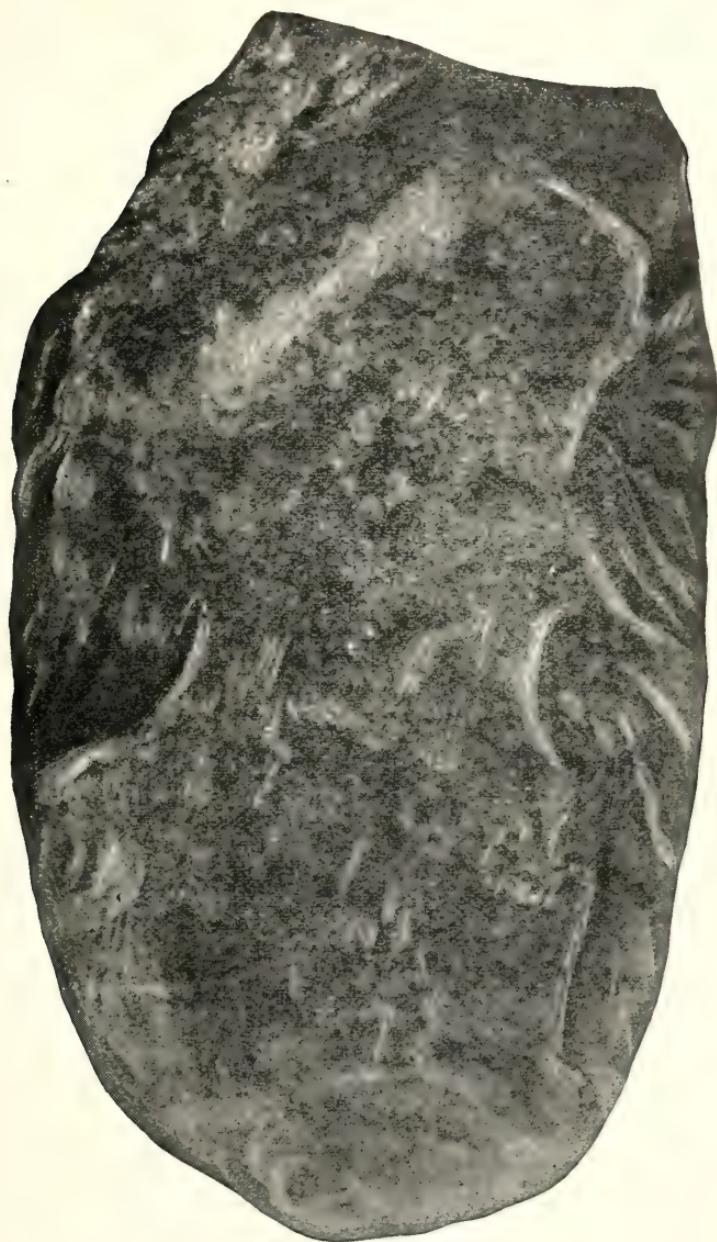


FIG. 11—Stone hoe.

cultures were found together. A summary of the fragments of pottery found in this camp site places fully one-half as belonging to the Fort Ancient culture, one-tenth to the Hopewell culture and two-fifths to the historic Indian.

#### IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

Implements of stone in the camp site were not abundant. In all Indian villages of any permanency the various objects made from stone are usually found, showing the various stages of manufacture, but here all were perfect or broken by use.

*Hammerstones.* The hammerstones were the most abundant and perhaps the most useful implements in the camp site, and were made for the most part of small, water-worn boulders, with a diameter of two to four and one-half inches. The majority of the hammerstones showing but little work upon them, as their use mainly was for breaking the bones of the larger animals used for food. Near one of the fireplaces five large, smooth boulders of convenient size to use in the hand were found in close proximity to a heavy, flat, smooth piece of sandstone. Perhaps here the animal food was prepared for cooking. No grooved axes or grooved hammers were found, but several were reported found at the site by the local collectors. Only one broken celт was found.

Chipped implements of flint were not abundant and only a few spear points and twice that number of arrow points were found in a perfect condition; although quite a number, rendered worthless by being broken, were found.

Chipped knives were very scarce, only two being found, but the flaked knives were very abundant, our finds exceeding several hundred, while Judge Miller sent to the museum one hundred and eighty specimens taken from the site. The flaked knives were very likely used in cutting the skins and flesh of animals used for food.

Three flint celts were found, one chipped and polished and two chipped into form.

Two broken slate ornaments were found. Great quantities of broken and angular pieces of flint were found in the camp site.

## IMPLEMENTS AND ORNAMENTS OF BONE.

In all village sites and places of more or less permanent abode of prehistoric man in Ohio bone implements and ornaments are invariably present, as well as objects in the process of manufacture. At the Boone camp site, however, very few bone objects

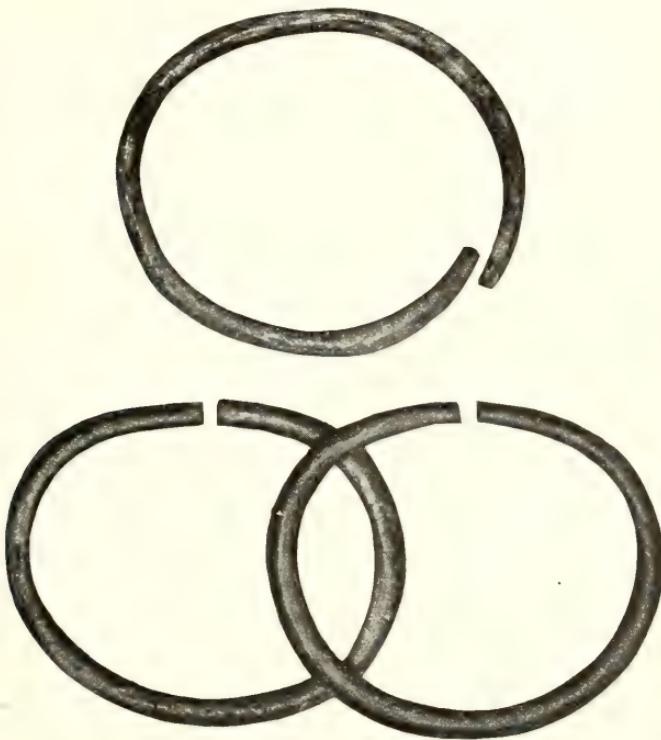


FIG. 12—Copper bracelets. 3.

The bracelet above was taken from the Werneke mound, the two below were taken from a mound in Meigs county in 1881 by Dr. C. C. Green.

were found in a perfect state; only one large, fine awl, as shown in Fig. 8, was secured, while many broken and discarded specimens were in evidence in about all parts of the camp site. However, a great number of large splinters of bone, some slightly ground, others with scarcely a perceptible amount of grinding, except to smooth off the sharp edges of the splinters, were found.

A good example of the improvised awls is shown in Fig. 9. Judge Miller found many of these awls in the refuse dumps to the south of the camp site proper, and several of those found by him are shown in the Fig. 9.

#### RESUME'.

According to the evidence secured during the explorations of Boone rock shelter and the adjoining camp site, the place was used only as a temporary and convenient camp site near the saline springs and in the region where game was abundant, as evidenced by the remains of broken pottery and animal bones. The two great prehistoric cultures of the Scioto valley, together with the historic Indians, left the broken pottery and artifacts upon the same site, and accordingly were no doubt engaged in the manufacture of salt, as the shallow pan-shaped vessels were very abundant; no implements or ornaments of bone were found in the process of manufacture, and the bones of animals usually used in the manufacture of objects of various kinds were broken or left unused. This was especially noticeable in the metapodial bones of the deer and the tarsometatarsus of the wild turkey.

At Baum village site, along Paint Creek, and Gartner village site, along the Scioto, the deer bones were seldom found that had not been converted into some implement; likewise the lower leg bones of the wild turkey; but here all were broken to secure the last remnant of food the bone canals might contain.

All implements of stone found on the site were either perfect or broken, none showing the process of manufacture. The evidence further shows that the site was occupied for a short time during all seasons of the year, and was perhaps the favorite rock shelter and camp site in the Salt Creek valley, where salt could be secured and where animals were abundant.

#### BUZZARD ROCK SHELTER.

Buzzard rock shelter is situated about two miles down Salt Creek from the Boone rock shelter, in Liberty township, east half of lot 17. This shelter, unlike the Boone rock shelter, is admirably adapted for habitation, being situated about thirty feet

above the bed of the stream and protected from storms by prominent projecting rocks. The space within the shelter is also large, being seventy-five feet long by twenty-four feet deep. The roof at the opening is eleven feet high, gradually sloping to the back. Directly above the large shelter is a smaller one, being in size something less than half that of the large one, and accessible only by a steep and difficult climb up the side of the cliff. The floor of the smaller shelter was covered with only a few inches of sand and dirt blown in by the wind. An examination of the floor covering revealed only a few bones of the deer and wild

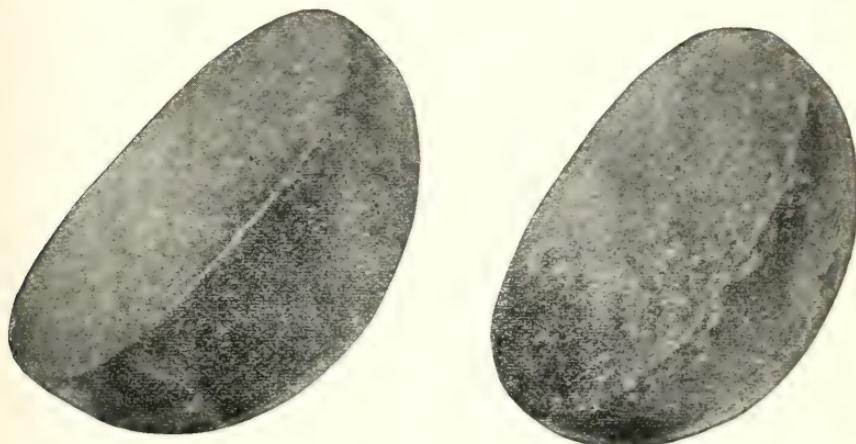


FIG. 13—Hematite cones.  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

Specimen to left from Werneke mound, one to right from village site a few miles away.

turkey, and one-half of a scraper made from a metapodial of the deer. The shelter is now the home of the little brown bat (*Vesperilles sublatus*).

The large shelter below was of especial interest because of the deep floor covering of ashes and refuse, which served as a burial ground for the early prehistoric occupants of Salt Creek valley. Mr. Bingman has discussed this shelter in his article, under date of July 12, 1897, in which he says:

"The floor is dry, never being wetted even by the hardest storms. The deposit of refuse reaches four feet in the deepest

part, and averages three feet, giving a bulk of about six thousand, seven hundred and fifty cubic feet.

"From this shelter were taken large numbers of flaked tools, both broken and entire, mostly of native chert; bone awls, needles and daggers; beads, ornaments, broken pottery in large quantities; small sandstone cup stones, and numerous small pieces of sandstone rubbed smooth on one side, which appear to have been sharpening stones for bone and stone tools.

"At the back of the shelter, in the sloping sand rock, a series of small, saucer-shaped cavities had been cut. These varied from three-fourths to one and one-half inches in diameter, with a depth of about half this.

"In this shelter a single interment had been made, presumably after its abandonment as a habitation, though there was nothing to indicate whether this was true or not."

The examination made by the survey at the Buzzard rock shelter was far more satisfactory than at the Boone rock shelter, as the disturbed portion was small and the greater part of the shelter was found in its original form. The covering upon the floor varied in depth from a few inches to four feet, and consisted for the most part of wood ashes mixed with sand and soil. At no point within the inclosure was there evidence of a fireplace, but just outside the inclosure the fireplaces were found. It was quite evident as work progressed that the entire floor covering had been placed in position by human endeavor, as broken pottery, mussel shells, fragments of deer horn, hammerstones, flint knives, broken and perfect arrow points, whetstones, broken awls, one stone hoe and strips of sheet copper were promiscuously mingled with the floor covering. All the above mentioned objects, with the exception of the sheet copper which was found near the surface, were associated with only a few animal bones, such as the deer, raccoon, and wild turkey.

Of the broken pottery twenty-nine pieces were found, and nineteen of these pieces could be placed with the Fort Ancient culture; the other ten pieces were rough and heavy and could perhaps be classed with the historic Indian. The stone hoe was of especial interest, as it was the only one found during our explorations in Jackson county. It was made of ferruginous

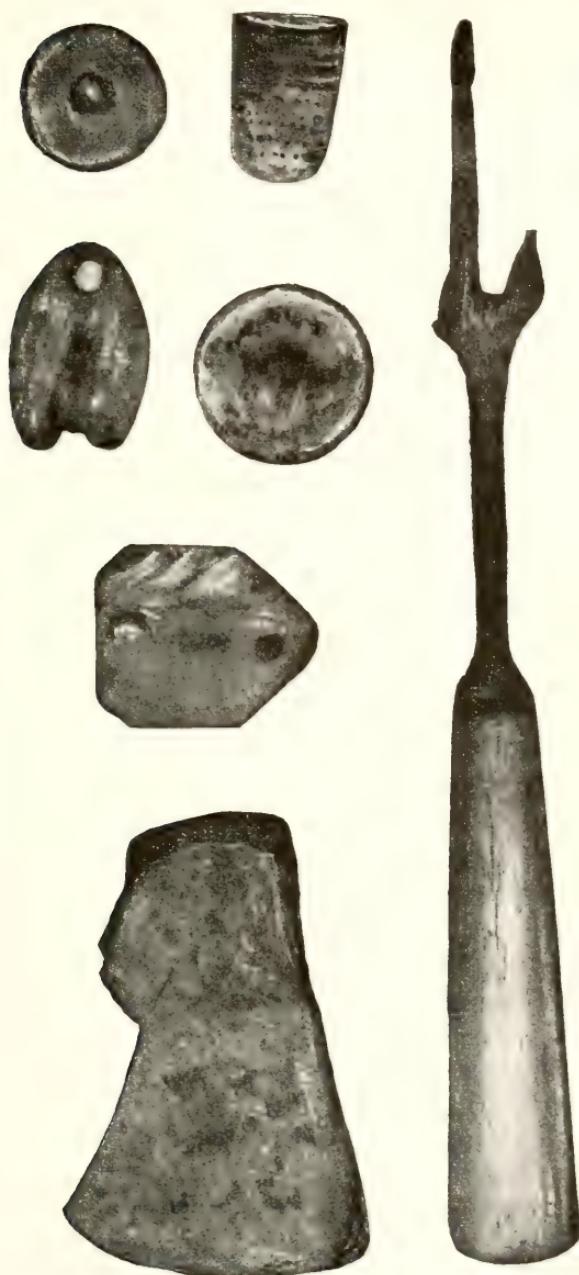


FIG. 14—Objects from Indian grave.  $\frac{7}{8}$

sandstone, which occurs in thin layers in Southern Ohio and outcrops at various places along the Ohio River. The stone hoe is very common in all the counties of central Ohio bordering on the Ohio River, but is gradually replaced by the shell hoe in the great prehistoric agricultural districts of the Scioto. The stone hoe is shown in Fig. 11. The bone awls were thirteen in number, and for the most part broken. Twelve arrow points made from local flint were found, only two of the twelve were perfect. One broken grooved axe, made of diorite, and a perfect grooved hammer were the only large artifacts found. Three pieces of sheet copper strips, one inch in width and varying in length from two inches to six inches, were found, and do doubt belonged to the historic Indian.

#### BURIALS.

The burials found in the Buzzard rock shelter were three in number, two adults and one child. However, a part of a skeleton of an adult, consisting of an arm and a few vertebra, were found; the major portions of the skeleton had been removed prior to our examination.

The two adult skeletons removed by the survey had been placed on the floor of the shelter and then covered over with ashes from their camp fire and soil and sand from the creek bed to a depth of about sixteen inches. The layers of sand and ashes over the skeletons had never been disturbed, showing that the debris on the floor of the shelter had purposely been placed there to form a burial place for the dead. In one respect the occupants of the shelter resemble the Fort Ancient culture in their mortuary customs in burying the dead in close proximity to the camp, and this would not deter them from occupying the shelter even if their dead were buried upon the floor and covered with a few inches of soil.

This feature of the mortuary customs of the Fort Ancient culture was found at the Gartner Village<sup>1</sup>. My conclusions are that the Buzzard rock shelter, like the Boone rock shelter and camp site, was only a temporary camp site. The broken pottery was present, but only in small quantities, as only twenty-nine

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<sup>1</sup> Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio, Vol. 1, Part 2.

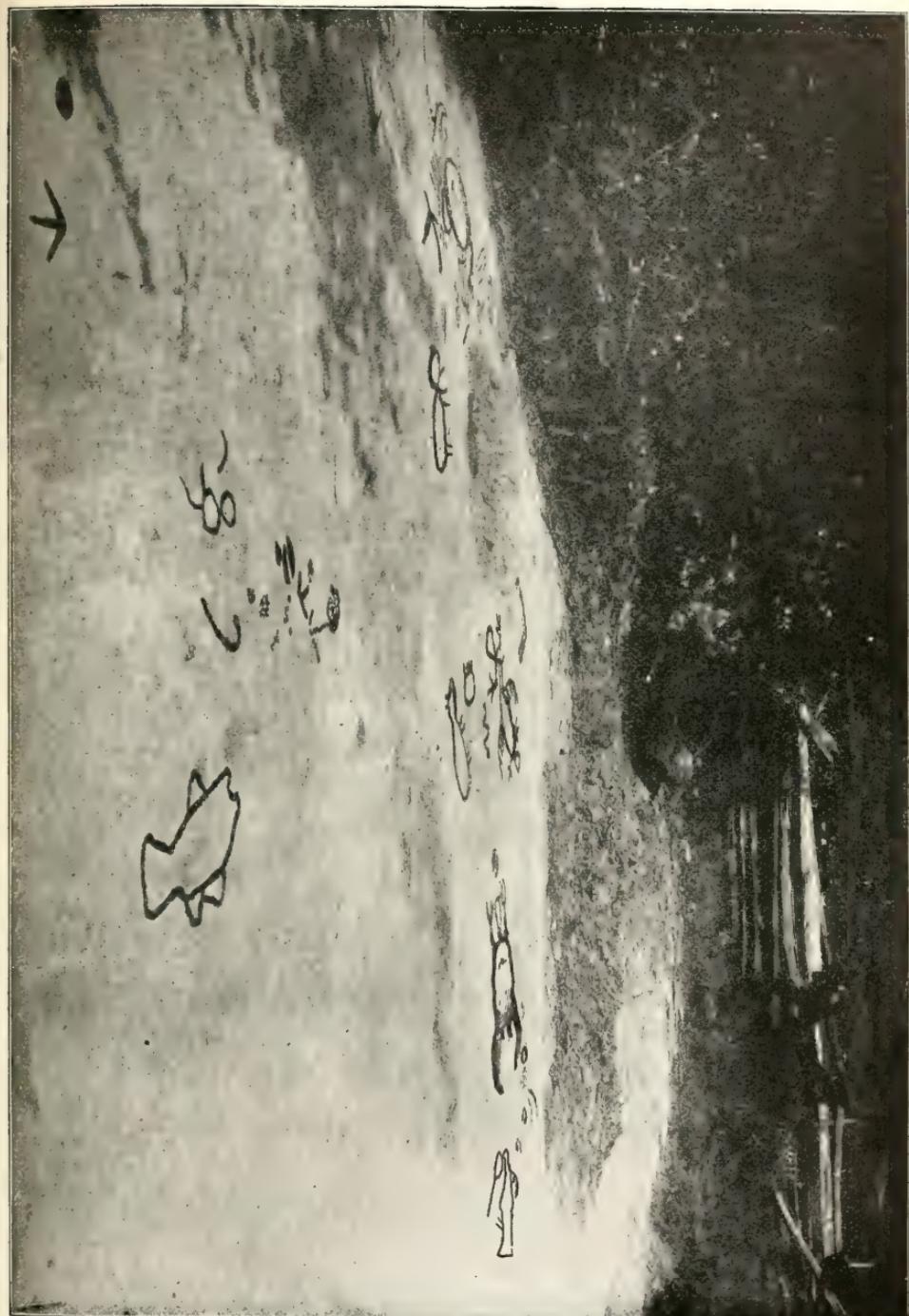


FIG. 15—General view of the Petroglyphs near Leo.

pieces were found during the entire exploration in the shelter; the animal bones were few and the kinds usually employed in the manufacture of implements were unused for that purpose. In fact, no implement or ornament showing a stage of its manufacture was found, evidencing that the site was only occupied for a short period at any time, but may have been used as a temporary stopping place covering a long period of years.

#### ROCK SHELTER IN JACKSON TOWNSHIP.

The large rock shelter in Jackson township, near Leo, was examined by the survey. This shelter is one of the most commodious of the shelters visited in the county; so large that a man could stand upright without inconvenience. It was free of large pieces of sandstone that frequently, in other shelters, cover the floor, also perfectly accessible by way of the bed of the small stream (now dry) with its source only a few hundred yards away and near the exposed rocks covered with petroglyphs, which will be described later. Practically three-fourths of the floor of the shelter was excavated and not a single piece of pottery or implement of any kind was found, and only five bones of animals were exhumed; namely, femur of the raccoon, humerus of the wild turkey, and three bones of the domestic pig (*Sus-ethrofa*). It was quite evident from our examination that this particular rock shelter, although desirable from our own point of view, was not considered desirable for even a temporary camp by the Indians, although located almost in sight of the petroglyph rocks and along the trail north and south leading to the salt springs.

The examination of the three rock shelters, described in the preceding pages; one being in close proximity to the salt springs and located along one of the principal streams of the county; the second along the same stream, but several miles away from the salt springs, and the third entirely out of reach of the salt springs and running water, has proven conclusively that the rock shelter served only as a temporary camp site, providing it was in close proximity to the saline springs which furnished the prehistoric as well as the historic Indian with the salt necessary for his welfare, and the shelters remote from the springs, away from and even along the main line of travel, were seldom if ever used.

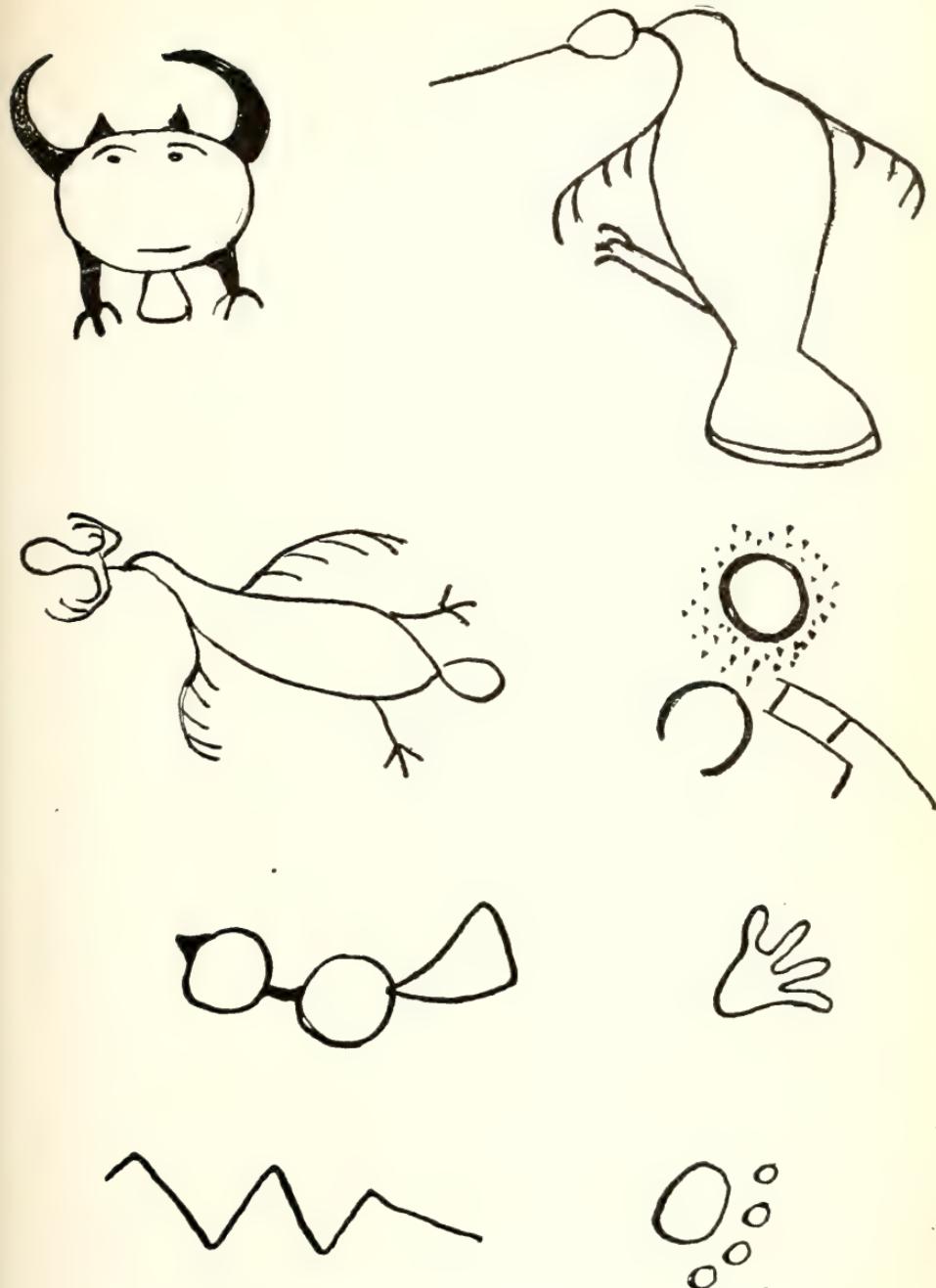


FIG. 16—Drawing of Petroglyphs at Leo.  $\frac{1}{10}$ .

In the immediate vicinity of Lick township and the saline springs evidences of early Indian occupancy are quite marked, as shown upon the archaeological map of Jackson county, by mounds, earthworks, and village sites; and these evidences gradually diminish in all directions from this great center for the supply of salt. It might be inferred from the number of temporary camp sites and small mounds that the region surrounding the saline springs might have been common ground even with tribes that were at war with one another, but in this vicinity we find the only defensive earthworks in the county. Immediately back (north) of Boone rock shelter is a splendid example of defensive earthworks, and directly south are two earthworks near a village site, which were no doubt used for defense. The two prehistoric cultures, namely, the Fort Ancient and the Hopewell, were no doubt isochronological in the Scioto and Miami valleys, and we find them both represented upon the same site at Boone rock shelter.

The survey examined four mounds in the county; two in Coal township and two in Lick township. These mounds will be described later. The two mounds in Coal township were undoubtedly Fort Ancient culture; the two in Lick were Hopewell, showing that both cultures built the mounds, and the presence of so many mounds surrounding the region of the salt springs would indicate that many deaths occurred, perhaps in warfare to gain possession of or to retain the much coveted springs. Therefore the entire region would be in constant turmoil and strife, making it a region undesirable for any lengthy habitation.

#### MOUNDS EXAMINED.

Jackson county is noted for the great number of small mounds located for the most part upon the level portions of the tops of the hills and in the narrow valleys along the streams. The mounds are all small, seldom exceeding six or seven feet in height for the largest, and would perhaps, taken as a whole, not average over 2 to two and one-half feet, with a diameter of ten to twenty feet. The survey examined two small mounds located upon the farm of Mr. Morehead, Coal township, near Wheldon. The first mound was eighteen inches high at the center, with a



FIG. 17—Drawing of Petroglyphs at Leo.  $\frac{1}{10}$ .

diameter of sixteen feet. No skeleton was found, although the base of the mound showed every indication that an interment had been made, and no doubt the skeleton, being so near the surface, was entirely destroyed by the action of the elements. Several small circular holes had been dug into the base of the mound, and each were found to contain several broken pieces of flint and a few perfect arrow heads.

The second mound was very small, being only sixteen inches high at the center. The burial was of an adult, but the bones were practically all decayed and only a trace of the skeleton could be found. With the burial was placed a number of broken angular pieces of flint.

The third mound examined was in Lick township, on the farm of Mr. Werneke, which adjoins Jamestown, a suburb of Jackson. This mound was only seventeen inches high at the center, with a diameter of eighteen feet. No doubt the diameter had been enlarged by cultivation and the height diminished. At the center of the mound was found the cremated remains of an adult. The cremation had taken place away from the mound. The small remnants of the calcined bones were placed in a pile upon the level ground, and the small mound of earth heaped over them. No implements or ornaments of any kind were placed with the burial.

The second mound examined, upon Mr. Werneke's farm, was located partly in his barnyard and partly in his orchard. A board fence dividing the mound into thirds, two-thirds being in the barnyard and one-third in the orchard. The two-thirds in the barnyard was examined. A fruit tree was growing upon the portion extending into the orchard, and this was not disturbed. The director of the survey feels under many obligations to Mr. Werneke for his kindness in permitting this examination.

The Werneke mound was not a large one, being three feet eight inches high at the center, gradually sloping in all directions, with an average diameter of twenty-one feet.

Two cremated burials were found in this mound. One upon the base line near the center. Two celts and one spear point and a quantity of flint spawls were placed with the burial. One celt was made of slate with the cutting edge finely polished. The

second celt was rudely chipped of ferruginous sandstone. The spear point was four and three-eighths inches long, with a stemmed and shouldered base, and showed excellent workmanship in its manufacture.



FIG. 18—Drawing of Petroglyphs at Wellsville.  $1/10$ .

The second cremated burial was placed eighteen inches above the base of the mound. With the cremated remains were placed a broken pipe made of limestone, the stem of the pipe is four and one-half inches long; one copper bracelet, one-fourth inch thick at

the center, gradually tapering to the end, see Fig. 12; one finely made hematite hemisphere, one and one-half inches in diameter, see Fig. 13; one flat sandstone, two and five-eighths inches by three and three-quarter inches and one-half inch thick, used for grinding or polishing; one flint drill, three inches in length, and six small arrowheads. The mound also contained a number of small caches of broken flint. Also a small cache of hematite paint ground ready for use.

The two mounds examined upon Mr. Werneke's farm contained burials from the Hopewell culture, as evidenced by the mortuary customs and the artifacts placed in the burials.

#### INDIAN GRAVE EXAMINED BY MR. LAW.

A few years prior to our examination of Boone rock shelter Mr. Law, a citizen of Jackson, while making an examination for the outcropping of coal along the hillside above Boone rock, found an Indian grave. He removed the skeleton and found a number of objects placed in the grave—all shown in Fig. 14—consisting of a small iron hatchet, a two-tined bone-handled table fork, brass thimble, brass pin, two oval brass plates and one brass coat button. Mr. Law presented all of the finds of this grave to the museum.

#### PETROGLYPHS.

In the northern part of Jackson county, near Leo, on the farm of Mr. Waller, are a number of fine examples of petroglyphs or pictographs cut into smooth exposed surface sandstone. Several years before our work Mr. Bingman visited the region and made drawings of the petroglyphs exposed to view at that time, expressing his belief that further investigation would bring to light many more examples of Indian picture-writing. The uncovering of the flat rock was done under his direction, and as a result a number of petroglyphs shown herewith were exposed for the first time.

The location of the Jackson county petroglyphs is quite unusual compared with that of the petroglyphs found in other sections of the state, as they were cut into a flat exposed sand

rock at the head of a small stream, but near the trail, north and south, leading to the salt springs.

The group of petroglyphs as shown in a photograph taken after they had been uncovered and outlined with black paint, and

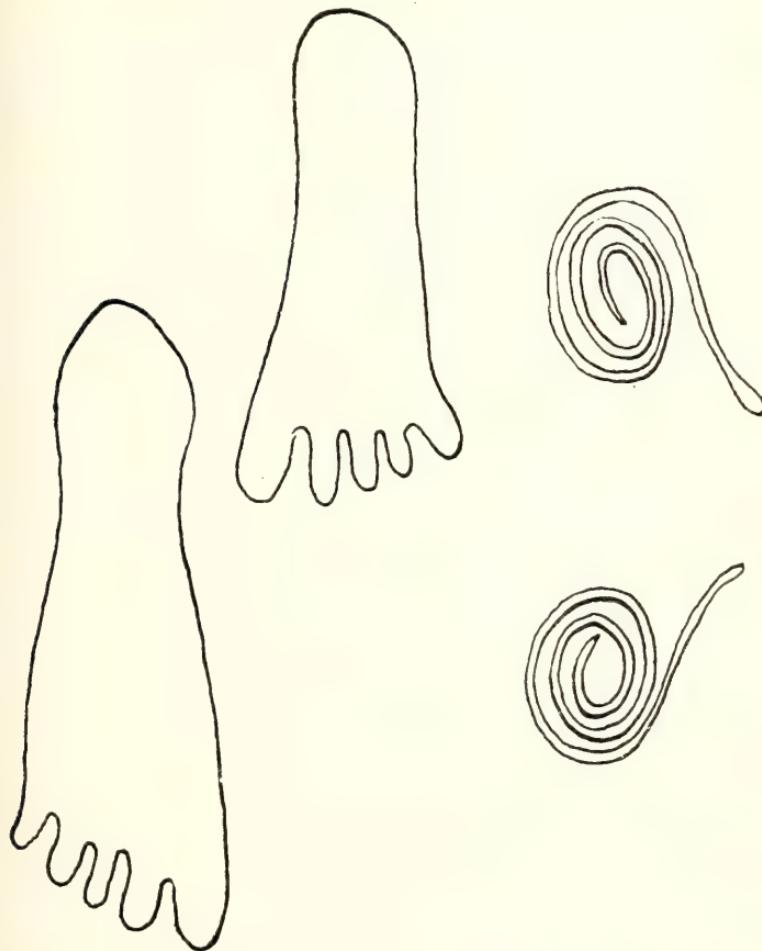


FIG. 19—Drawing of Petroglyphs Adams county.  $\frac{1}{10}$ .

here shown in Fig. 15, contained thirty-seven separate and distinct objects, such as owl, hawk, bear, snake, human track, bear track, turkey track and elk track; all had been pecked into the sand-stone to a depth varying from one-eighth to three-quarters of an

inch and on account of being covered with soil the greater part of the time the petroglyphs were perfectly distinct.

Quite a number of petroglyphs are reported from various places in Ohio. The track rocks at Newark and Barnesville are the best known and these were described and figured in the report of the committee of the Archaeological Society in the report of the Ohio State Board of Centennial Managers.

While these petroglyphs show practically only tracks of man, birds and various animals, those at the Waller farm show drawings of animals and birds as well as the tracks. In this respect they resemble the petroglyphs along the Ohio River at Wellsville and other places.

The petroglyphs near Wellsville have been photographed by Rev. W. W. Burton, Alliance, Ohio, who visited the site several years ago. The Wellsville petroglyphs can be seen only during low water in the Ohio river. The petroglyphs are shown in Fig. 18, and show a striking resemblance to those of Jackson county. Mr. Burton spent much time in working out the petroglyphs and making photographs and drawings, which are presented herewith.

Rev. C. G. Watson, of Columbus, while traveling in Adams county, made drawings of several undescribed petroglyphs and I herewith reproduce them from his drawings. Fig. 19.

The two snake forms in the act of striking at each other, like the Wellsville petroglyphs, are cut in stone along the Ohio River bank and visible only at low water. The human foot is cut in sandstone in an exposed rocky prominence near the river and several miles distant from the snake petroglyphs.

## THE MACGAHAN MONUMENT.

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### A DEDICATION AT NEW LEXINGTON.

[MacGahan was preparing to attend and write up the International Congress at Berlin, when, declining to abandon a sick friend at Constantinople, he was himself attacked with the malignant fever that had prostrated his friend, and died after a few days' illness, June 9, 1878.

In the year 1884, his remains at Constantinople were disinterred and brought by the United States steamer "Powhatan" to this country. In New York city the remains lay in state for a day in the city hall, where thousands paid tribute to the honored dead. The remains were subsequently brought to Columbus, Ohio, where again for a day they lay in state in the rotunda of the Capitol building. His funeral was held September 12, 1884, at New Lexington, Ohio. The religious exercises were conducted at St. Rose Church by Bishop John A. Watterson, who delivered an eloquent address upon the "Power and Responsibility of the Newspaper Press."

The body was borne to the grave, in the little cemetery just outside of the village, attended by thousands of interested spectators and some sixty distinguished journalists, representing all parts of the state. At the grave, after military honors and the usual religious rites, a eulogy on the life and character of J. A. MacGahan was pronounced by E. S. Colborn, a poem was read by Col. William A. Taylor and an address delivered by Hon. Silas H. Wright, on "The Office of a Newspaper Correspondent." — EDITOR.]

At New Lexington, Perry County, on Monday, July 4, 1911, a monument was unveiled with imposing and interesting ceremonies to the memory of Januarius A. MacGahan, whose body lies buried at the spot marked by the monument. Besides being the day of the National Independence, it was the first day of several which were set aside by the good people of New Lexington, as a home coming celebration of former residents of Perry County. It was known as Old Home Week, and began on the previous Saturday, July 2nd. The City was gaily decorated with flags and banners and hundreds of the former residents of Perry county gathered from the most distant parts of the country. For several days prior to the opening day the townspeople of

New Lexington, the merchants, members of secret orders, civic societies and religious bodies indulged in friendly rivalry in the matter of decorations for their business houses and residences. The result was a beautiful town. Everywhere the glad hand was extended and everybody seemed to have given up the week to the entertainment of those who came to visit the scenes of former days. On Sunday, July 3d, home-coming services were held in the various churches with a special public meeting in the City Hall in the evening, at which time Reverend George H. L. Bee-

man of Greencastle, Indiana, a former Perry County boy, preached the sermon.



JANUARIUS MACGAHAN.

After invocation by the Rev. I. E. Moody, Mayor R. B. Gue presented the keys of the city to Chairman French, who in turn handed them to attorney James B. Yaw, of Columbus, who responded in a very gracefully worded speech on behalf of the home-coming visitors.

Judge Charles E. Spencer, after appropriate preliminary remarks read the home-coming poem of which he was the author. It was entitled "Old Perry" and was as follows:

Monday morning as the journals of the town state, the "Sleepless week" was officially ushered in by the blowing of whistles, ringing of bells, and booming of cannon. All day visitors continued to arrive until the hotels were filled and almost every residence in town was filled with guests. The program of the day was opened in the morning in the City Hall, where the meeting was called to order by the Chairman of the Home-Coming Commission, Mr. C. E. French. Af-

Thy hills, thy fields, thy woods have been,  
Since boyhood days, my own blood-kin,  
And long my soul and the soul of thee  
Are blent as one for eternity.  
In infant eyes thy mother-face  
Poured deep the wine of mystic grace,  
And now to me thy voice and spell  
Speak high as heaven and deep as hell.

To breathe of thee, all I have known  
Or dreamed, beloved and my own,  
Were to assail a sacred lore  
But thine and mine forevermore.  
Thus much, how'er, I may impart,  
That, in all seasons, night and day,  
We lived and loved with linked heart  
The sweet Hellenic life alway.  
Thou took'st my hand—didst vouch for me  
To cloud and moon and humble-bee  
(Free things divinely wise and good):—  
The brook,—the flowers of hill and lea,—  
The dim-seen forms of deepest wood,  
All birds that sing on wing or tree.

Thou taught'st me somewhat of the tongue  
God-spoken when fading stars were young;—  
In which thy hills, with shaggy crest,  
The earliest blaze of morning greet;—  
The same the wood-thrush on her nest  
Sings to the sumach and the wheat.  
And oft in hours of sad unrest,  
If I did tramp thy wood and glen  
And cast me on thy patient breast,  
Some benediction of the blessed  
Consoled and made me man again.

Other exercises added to the interest of this meeting; Miss Ada Cotterman, of Somerset, sang Prof. Murdock's "Perry County Home Sweet Home" in a most delightful manner.

Hon. Joseph Simpson, of Columbus, spoke most entertainingly on the campaign of 1840 in New Lexington and Perry County.

The exercises of the morning were concluded by enjoyable musical selections by Miss Jessie Moodie of Shawnee and the

Kintz mandolin orchestra of Somerset, an organization composed of "Little Folks".

The afternoon session at city hall was addressed by Col. W. A. Taylor and Dr. P. A. Gordon and musical numbers were contributed by Mrs. Frank Randolph and Mrs. Emma B. Bowman. A recitation by Mrs. Bess Comly-Cary was also greatly enjoyed.

#### THE BANQUET.

One of the most enjoyable and brilliant events of the week was the banquet at the Armory Monday evening, given in honor of the home-comers. Several hundred were present. Judge Maurice H. Donahue presided as toastmaster. Responses were made by Mayor Geo. S. Marshall of Columbus, Col. W. A. Taylor, Prof. Rollo W. Brown of Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind., and Randolph W. Walton of Columbus which were of a

very high order and were interesting and entertaining. Excellent music selections were furnished by Prof. J. K. Murdock, Mrs. Bowman, Mr. S. A. Roach and the Clark-Dillor orchestra. Despite the intensely hot weather, the banquet was a great success.



JUDGE DONAHUE.

when he trains these gatling guns of oratory in your direction, to work your discomfiture at their own sweet will, without adding any further burdens to those you are already fated to bear.

This occasion is one, however, that might justify a "few remarks." I know that a "few remarks" by a toastmaster is a species of tort for which there is no adequate remedy at law. In the language of the law they are *damnum absque injuria*. How-

#### ADDRESS OF JUDGE DONAHUE.

I know it is in very bad taste for a toastmaster to inflict a speech upon the guests. The instruments of torture have been carefully selected, and the toastmaster performs his full duty

ever, I promise in advance not to offend too seriously against the ethics of my position.

This home-coming of which this delightful function is but a small part has a dual purpose. First, that all former residents of this City and County may visit their old home at one and the same time, thereby affording each an opportunity to meet all their former friends and neighbors, not only those still residing here, but also those who have wandered to distant places and have heard and answered the kindly message of recall that Perry County has sent out to all her absent sons and daughters.

To the right-minded individual the word "home" has a tender significance, because with that word is associated all that is nearest and dearest to him in life. The home of his youth may have given place to one of his own building, of his own making, yet deep down in his affection he cherishes the imperishable memory of the home of his childhood. The home that nurtured him in infancy; the home that protected and directed him aright in boyhood, that home, the holy influences of which has entered into his being and shaped and moulded, not only his character, but his destiny as well.

"Those first affections  
"Those earlier recollections  
"That be they what they may  
"Are yet the fountain light of all our day  
"The master light of all our seeing."

Dr. Samuel Johnson has said: "To be happy at home is the ultimate result of all ambition, the end to which every enterprise and labor trends and of which every desire prompts the prosecution. It is indeed, at home that every man must be known by those who would make a just estimate either of his virtue or felicity, for smiles and embroidery are alike occasional and the mind is often dressed for show in painted honour and fictitious benevolence."

In the marts of trade there is selfishness and brutality. In the political arena there is hypocrisy and treachery; in the social circle there is deceit and insincerity, but in the temple of the home there is love and truth and loyalty. There is found relief and respite from the malice and the meanness of the world. A home

established upon right lines, a home where "Love is Law" and unselfishness the cornerstone of the structure is the nearest approach to Heaven that old mother earth can ever know. Loyalty to our homes is one of the elemental virtues of good citizenship, and without such loyalty patriotism is impossible. That you men and women have left your present homes, some in distant states, and traveled many miles to visit the home of your youth, the places in which your childhood was spent, clearly evidences not only your loyalty to grand old Perry County, but also evidences the fact that you are worthy to be her sons and daughters.

In behalf of all here tonight, I welcome each and every guest to this festal board, and invite you to the fullest participation in the social joys, not only of the evening, but of the entire week.

The second purpose of this week's celebration is to honor one of Perry County's most illustrious sons. A young man born on the hills of Perry, educated in the school of adversity, yet overcoming all obstacles, has, by his heroism and his genius, written his name, not only high in the halls of fame, but deep in the hearts of a grateful people.

If on the 4th of June, 1844, a message had been sent to the Turk whose domain then extended not only to the banks of the Danube, but whose suzerainty stretched to the Carpathians, that a little child had been born in the hills of Ohio who would some day change the map of his empire, he would have scorned the prophecy and challenged its fulfillment, but such a message would have been true, for on that day the child was born, whose mission it was to travel far into the Orient and strike from the limbs of Bulgarians the shackles of their Turkish masters. This man traveled to Bulgaria, not as a conquering hero, not as a general at the head of a devastating army, but rather as a humble journalist, a mere war correspondent of the daily press.

At his second coming he was hailed a liberator and deliverer, a grateful people paying him higher honor than was ever paid to monarch, kissing even the boots he wore as an evidence of their love and gratitude to him.

Mr. Archibald Forbes, who was also a war correspondent and was with him a large portion of the time that he was in Bulgaria said of him: "The man whose voice rang out clear through

the nations with its burden of wrong and shame and deviltry, was no illustrious statesman, no famed litterateur, but just a young American from off the little farm in Perry County, Ohio." He went forth from the hills of Perry County a manly young fellow, full of life, spirit and enthusiasm, filled with love of liberty and hate of tyranny and oppression. He witnessed with his own eyes the damnable brutality of the Turk inflicted upon an innocent but conquered race, and his great heart and vigorous brain united in guiding the pen that wrote the messages that startled all Christendom by the vividness of his description of the awful saturnalia of innocent blood upon which the brutal Turk was feasting. He wrote not to catch the passing fancy, or to attract momentary attention, but rather to force upon the attention of all the nations of the earth the terrific crimes that were desolating a country and destroying an innocent race of people. Every line evidenced not only the honesty of the author but the truth of the tales of brutal butchery he so graphically described so that no man who read dared to disbelieve. In the hands of MacGahan

"The pen *was* mightier than the sword."

His work accomplished, his great soul returned to Him who gave it. His body now rests almost in sight of the beloved spot where his eyes first opened to the light of day.

Tomorrow a monument of marble marking his last resting place will be unveiled, but he has erected a monument to himself in the hearts of a grateful people far better, and far lovelier than the costliest shaft of cold and emotionless granite that money could buy. Our own native poet, Col. William A. Taylor, reared also in the hills of Perry County and within a few miles of the boyhood home of MacGahan has embalmed in deathless verse the splendid story of this man's life and service to humanity. The tale cannot be better told than in these verses from the pen of this soldier, statesman and author, whose genial presence adds to the pleasure of this occasion and, therefore, I crave his permission to quote these few lines therefrom:

"Bulgaria in the wine press of the Turk,  
Gave blood and tears and groaned upon the rack,  
Until his mighty thunders 'gainst the wrong  
Rocked Europe to its base, unloosed the slave

And set the sun of freedom o'er the hills  
 Where serfs had groped through ages of eclipse.  
 And then, where Stamboul, standing by the sea  
 Looks through the spicy gateways of the East—  
 Youth on his brow and summer on his lips,  
 Crowned more than conqueror and more than king—  
 Dreaming of these green hills, a mother's love,  
 Of wife and babe and kindred's loving touch,  
 With all the world before him, his great soul  
 Ascended to the Infinite, and mankind  
 Are better for this hero having lived."

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Tuesday carried off the honors for attendance for the week for it was the largest crowd that has ever gathered at the county capital within its history. It is estimated that fully 10,000 people were there and assisted in the celebration of the birthday of our National independence.



J. DONALD HYNUX.

Columbus, whose oratory and patriotic utterances delighted the large crowd which had congregated around the stand. He was followed by Judge O. W. H. Wright of Logan, whose remarks were appropriate to the occasion.

At 10 o'clock the military and automobile parade formed on Main St. The military section was composed of companies of the 7th regiment from Zanesville, including the regimental band, from Somerset, Logan and New Lexington, under command of

Sleepers were awakened at 5 o'clock by a salute of thirteen guns commemorating the thirteen original states and from that hour until late in the night, there was a continual succession of interesting events.

At 8 o'clock the Seventh Regiment and Perry county concert bands rendered splendid special programs in the city park. At 9 o'clock Auditor Geo. T. Drake opened the speaking program from the speaker's stand, introducing Hon. Randolph Walton of

Major Tom O. Crossan. With Major Crossan rode Col. Harry Knox of Marietta, and Majors E. P. Walser of Somerset, Chas. H. Bell and Dr. J. H. Wright of New Lexington

At 1 o'clock occurred the ceremonies incident to the unveiling of the monument erected to the memory of Januarius A. MacGahan, the Bulgarian Liberator, which had been erected by the MacGahan Club. The same military formation was made as in the morning, leaving Main St. for the cemetery where the ceremonies incident to the unveiling occurred. Attorney James B. Yaw of Columbus, presided over the occasion. On behalf of the MacGahan club, J. Donald Hynus, president of the organiza-



DR. V. D. BOZOVOSKY.



PAUL MACGAHAN.

tion, presented the memorial in a brief speech. Paul MacGahan pulled the ribbon, which unveiled the tablet honoring his famous father. Col. W. A. Taylor of Columbus, read letters of tribute from President Taft and Governor Harmon and also read an original poem and eulogium; Hon. Allen Albert, editor of the Columbus News, spoke on behalf of the press and Dr. Vacil D. Bozovosky of Dunkirk, N. Y., spoke on behalf of the Bulgarian people. A paper written by Mr. Svetozar Tonjoroff, editor of the Providence, R. I., Journal, was also read.

Rev. A. A. Cush, pastor of St. Rose church, offered prayer and benediction at the opening and close of the meeting. On the

speaker's stand were also seated Judge M. H. Donahue of the Ohio Supreme court, and Hon. Randolph W. Walton and Mrs. Paul MacGahan. The veil which consisted of a Bulgarian and American flag was presented to Dr. Bozovosky and Paul MacGahan. The detachment of O. N. G. formed a guard of honor about the grave and the famous Seventh regiment band dis-coursed several appropriate selections.

#### REMARKS OF JAMES B. YAW.

J. A. MacGahan, a son of Perry County, lies buried here.

We have set apart this time to speak of him and to unveil a monument erected to his memory.

This day, July 4th, and the event we have met here to cele-brate, are appropriately and happily joined together. The one,

no less than the other, symbolizes progress in the history of man, the re-pression of tyranny, the freedom of a nation.

The heroic deeds of our fore-fathers, fighting and dying for home and liberty, have been perpetuated in stone and poetry and in the hearts of our countrymen. Throughout the world and among all people, there ex-ists a common sympathy and feeling of indignation whenever the inalienable rights of man are denied and persecution takes the place of protec-tion. As members of the great Brotherhood of Man, we meet here

to honor the memory of one who immolated his strength, his ability, his genius for others. One, who in the short span of years given him brought smiles to the faces of thousands where before there had been only tears and long drawn lines of suffer-ing.

We meet here, also, as fellow country-men of MacGahan and in that capacity, we unveil the stone that stands at his grave. I say this because the monument erected here is only of



JAMES B. YAW.

local significance. It can not honor MacGahan in Europe or American. It can not honor him anywhere nor in the memory of any person. The stone can do this, and this only: that when his countrymen or strangers pass this way, they will be reminded that this is sacred ground, that one greater than a king lies here, that to this spot, is due more deference than to a king's mausoleum.

I have often thought of the career of MacGahan. It is a wonderful story. From the log cabin in the backwoods of our county to the Liberator of a people, is a long road. At an early age, poverty forced him to leave home. You can see him struggling, alone and unaided. At last, his worth not to be hidden by adverse conditions, aroused the interest of a great journalist. Then it was that his great heart began to come into its own. With keen perceptions and undaunted courage he wrote.

Whether he was suffering the hardship of the polar regions in order to paint the words, the glories of nature, or in Paris, during the Commune where the terrors of a guillotine sentence were laid upon him it was always that same devotion to truth and principle that lead him on.

It was to the people of the war-swept Balkan region that MacGahan rendered his greatest service and made his final sacrifice. To these down-trodden simple people his heart went out and in his letters to London, he put his whole soul. They seemed to be written in blood and stained with the tears of the people whose wrongs he pictured. Although not a citizen of Europe, without money or position, yet MacGahan forced the Nations of The Old World to heed the cry of humanity.

It is somewhat strange that our country, one of the youngest of the family of nations; that one of the youngest states of this country, and even yet one of the youngest counties of that state, should send a man, not west, nor north, nor south, but back over the path of progress to light the torch of liberty where civilization had failed to nourish that sacred flame.

JANUARIUS ALOYSIUS MACGAHAN.

Eulogy by William A. Taylor.

Many years ago, when a boy attending Dist. No. 6 school in Harrison township, I was deeply, but not then favorably, impressed by this sentence in Kirkham's Grammar: "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often interred with their bones," which I was called on to parse, analyse and expatiate on generally, by my teacher Philander H. Binckley, student, philosopher, literary writer and profound scholar, well-known to many, and heard of by all of you.

For a long it seemed to me that this assigned greater prominence and power to evil than to good. Else why should evil survive uninterruptedly, and good be buried at least for a great portion of the time, with the bones of the doers?

But the lapse of time and a continuity of observation, convinced me that the ancient axiom-maker was not mistaken, that the evil that men do lives after them, not to honor their memory but to reproach it, and warn the oncoming generations not to erect their monuments of misshapen deeds of evil, crowned with stinging thistles and rankling brambles. True enough, the good that men do is often buried with them, but "often" is only a small fraction of "always," and it is the surviving good that not only stands as a monument of approbation, but borders the highways, on the right and the left, with glorious flowers and stately palms, cooling springs, winnowing zephyrs, whispering of both the past and the yet to be, and crowning all the beckoning vistas of the far beyond—the Ultima Thule of life and effort and activity and self-abnegation. To attain this high altitude, is, as it should be, the true aim of life, in whatever sphere of activity our mission and our labors lie. None are too exalted to fire our ambition; none too humble to deserve our fullest effort. This was the spirit which animated the men whose name and fame and achievements are here to commemorate and dedicate to posterity, the predestined custodian of terrestrial fame.

Here among the rugged and versatile beauties of his native county, he was the child of nature and the student of that history, which marks the alternating eras of progress and decadence of

humanity and human achievement, across the broad parchment of time.

With this mission accomplished, wearied and resting from his more than Herculean labors, gazing through the gateway of the Orient, with the white sails on the Sea of Marmora flitting like ghosts before his dimming eyes, he stepped from the Here into the Hereafter leaving behind him only those good deeds which were wrought for the cause of man and the betterment



THE MACGAHAN MONUMENT.

of civilization. The feigned achievement of the classic heroes and demigods furnished forth in the poetic garniture of Homer and other contemporaneous poets, are outshone by the plain narration of the achievements of our Perry county boy, student, teacher, journalist, hero and liberator. Remember that what he did are but the plain narration of deeds achieved in accordance with natural laws over natural impediments.

Not as in the cases of the classic heroes, demigods and myths,

by assumed super and supra-natural means, but in accordance with the laws which govern in the every day world of to-day. The twelve labors of Hercules were not more onerous, nor more beset with impending perils, than were his efforts in the council chambers of chancellories and the closets of cabinets, none the less along nervous lines of gathering armies, in his task of arousing supine Europe to the point of stamping out the nameless atrocities being heaped upon the people of a helpless principality.

His unattained and interdicted ride from the headquarters of the Russian army to Khiva, in open defiance of the orders of the grim commander, with drumhead court martial and summary execution, as the alternative of disobedience, has no parallel in classic literature, where poetic imagination supplies every gap in the continuity of events.

The final rounding out of his life's mission, the deliverance of the Principality of Bulgaria from the merciless hand of the Moslem Spoiler, is one of the established facts in the nineteenth century history, more heroic, more knightly, more god-like, in every respect than the fabled achievement of Perseus in rescuing Andromeda, the daughter of the king of Ethiopia, from the greedy jaws of the Sea Monster.

Our Perry county Knight was indeed a hero; one, without fear and without reproach.

#### A BULGARIAN'S TRIBUTE TO MACGAHAN.

By Svetozar Tonjoroff.

To a Bulgarian the name of MacGahan is fraught with memories that stir the soul and send the blood coursing faster through the veins. For MacGahan was the first champion of an oppressed people before the world's tribunal. It was MacGahan who, in the Bulgarian revolution against savage tyranny in 1876, closed the lying mouths of British diplomats and British bondholders, thirsty for the payment of maturing Turkish coupons, by placing the damning facts of Turkish misrule before the collective conscience of the English-speaking races. It was a service which the Bulgarians will never forget so long as history lasts.

My countrymen first saw the famous son of New Lexington in 1876. In that year Turkish bestialities had reached such a pitch of ferocity in the province of Bulgaria that a people of infinite patience had been goaded into open revolt. There are moments in the lives of nations, as in the lives of individuals, when death is preferable to the continued torture of existence. Such a moment had arrived in the history of the Bulgarians, once masters of the Balkan Peninsula. The revolution of 1876 began in the hot blood of resentment, without preparation. The Bulgarian peasant, under the hoof-beats of the wild Circassians, imported in hordes into Bulgaria for the express purpose of stamping out the last spark of spirit in its children, took up his pitchfork and his goad in self-defense. He revolted in much the same spirit in which the minute man of the American colonies, exactly a century earlier, had seized his flintlock to repel aggressions much less grievous than those that threatened the Bulgarians.

With the aid of fanatic forces which Turkey poured into the revolted territory from Asia Minor, the revolution was put down and the pacification was begun in characteristic Turkish fashion. It was at this period that MacGahan came to Bulgaria as the special correspondent of the London Daily News. It was then that he began the work of unmasking the lie which the British foreign office, subservient to the banking interests that demanded the pound of flesh from the vitals of a starving peasantry, had set up before the world.

"There are no Turkish atrocities," was the dictum of Disraeli, whose memory is forever accursed in Bulgaria. "The revolution is being put down with unexampled gentleness. The Bulgarians are a turbulent lot who must be crushed for the sake of the peace of the world."

Your distinguished fellow-townsman arrived at the shambles to determine by observation whether the cry of the Bulgarians was a mere theatrical exclamation uttered for political effect, or whether Disraeli, with volumes of official reports from the seat of the atrocities snugly stowed away in the pigeonholes of the foreign office, was deliberately perverting the facts in order

to help his great and good friend the unspeakable Turk. And this is what MacGahan found:

The Turks had carried out the spirit of their religion in a series of massacres that capped the climax of even Turkish savagery. One instance will suffice to illustrate the conditions throughout the pacified territory which MacGahan, the patron saint of Bulgaria, disclosed. It is the case of Batak, where the entire village population of between three and four thousand men, women and children, had sought refuge in the large village church from the humane methods of the Turkish pacifiers. The church was surrounded by regular troops and Bash-i-Bozouks. After a siege of several days the Turkish commander offered free pardon to the besieged if they would surrender their arms. The terms were accepted for the sake of the women, the little children and the helpless old men. When the last flintlock had been handed out to the troops a bugle call was sounded, a stream of kerosene played upon the church, and soon a match had set the structure ablaze in every part, a funeral pyre worthy of Disraeli and his humane allies in the extermination of a Christian people whose only crime was their refusal to surrender their faith and to coin the sweat of their labors into usurious interest for pampered British bondholders. And this is what MacGahan found in that church: An entire village population burned to ashes—little children with their mothers; palsied old age and powerless youth and manhood, all side by side in a horrible death as a fitting memorial to Turkish savagery backed by British greed. Among the victims was Dimitri Tonjoroff, a kinsman of the writer, who as village teacher shared the fate of his pupils in that desecrated temple of the Redeemer.

Yet even in the face of these frightful disclosures, which MacGahan made in the columns of the Daily News, the smug diplomats of London maintained their denials with the utmost hardihood, and your townsman was subjected to bitter attacks as a perverter of the truth!

To the Bulgarians of the period, surrounded with visible evidences of the hostility of the great and powerful British empire, the appearance of MacGahan was like the dawn of day after a dark night of terror unspeakable. It is recorded in

the Bulgarian Encyclopedia that MacGahan's last words to his Bulgarian friends after he left those tragic scenes to return to the office of his paper were:

"In less than a year you shall see the soldiers of the Czar here."

History has recorded the accuracy of that prediction. How much the noble pen of MacGahan contributed to the causes that determined Alexander II., the Czar-Liberator, to undertake the sacred task of shattering the chains from the hands of the Bulgarians by the roar of the Russian cannon, may never be known. Sufficient it is to say that had not the heartless plot of Disraeli been exposed by MacGahan's revelations, British prejudice, forever on the look-out for Russian poaching on British preserves, might have frustrated Russia's move at its very inception. As it was, the muzzles of the British naval guns were not bared against the Russians until the standard of the Russian regiments were at the walls of Constantinople and a liberated nation was once more breathing God's pure air of liberty after a subjection lasting through five stifling centuries.

But even while MacGahan was yielding up his life at Constantinople, stricken by the scourge of war, the implacable foe of the Bulgarians was partly undoing the work which MacGahan and Alexander II. had wrought. MacGahan was the impassioned advocate of the Great Bulgaria, as created by the treaty of San Stefano, the signing of which halted the march of the Russians toward the seat of Turkish power. He realized at that early period in the negotiations, that the only solution of the problem was the liberation of *all* the Bulgarians and the creation of a country strong enough and favorably enough situated, with an outlet to the Mediterranean, to be able to deal with its former oppressor on something approaching even terms. Had his counsel been followed, Bulgaria today would have been a kingdom including the entire Bulgarian population of the peninsula, with a large territory extending practically from the walls of Constantinople to Salonica. That would have been a reasonable and just solution of a grave phase of the Eastern Question which would have eliminated a world of trouble that has since

ensued in the lands once liberated by the pen of MacGahan and the sword of Alexander.

But Disraeli would not have it so. His keen financial mind clung to the reflection that enough Bulgarians must be left enslaved to pay the interest on the British loans to Turkey—loans which Turkey had used partly to keep those same Bulgarians down. So, with the help of the Iron Chancellor at the congress of Berlin, the British statesman marred the achievements of your eminent townsman even before his warm heart had grown cold beneath the cypresses of Stamboul. The Bulgaria of the treaty of San Stefano—MacGahan's Bulgaria—was dismembered almost before it was born. Macedonia—that land of strife and suffering—was cut off from the liberated territory and once more placed under the tender mercies of Turkish rule. Bulgaria itself, greatly lessened by the elimination of the vilayet of Adrianople, was erected into a tributary principality, and Eastern Roumelia, another part of the Bulgaria of San Stefano, was put back under the Turkish flag as an autonomous province.

Now mark how the far-sightedness of MacGahan was justified by the events of history, coming fast one upon the other in the lifetime of his generation.

In 1885 Eastern Roumelia in a bloodless revolution, packed the Turkish governor off to Constantinople, tore down the Turkish flag over the konak and declared itself an integral and indivisible part of Bulgaria, just as MacGahan had intended it to be at the outset. The coffee-drinking gentlemen at Constantinople scratched their pates beneath their fezzes, spat upon the ground in disgust, wrote a warm letter to Sofia on the subject uppermost in their muddled minds, and with true Oriental fatalism let things go at that. With the kind consent of Abdul Hamid the Prince of Bulgaria was recognized as governor general of Eastern Roumelia. What difference did it make, reasoned the coffee-drinking gentlemen, if a vassal (the Prince of Bulgaria) had made himself governor of an adjoining province? It's all the same, if it is the will of Allah! And, furthermore, does not Bulgaria bind itself to see that the Eastern Roumelian tribute is paid every year? It is all the better so, since the tribute will be paid.

So matters remained until, in 1908, the Young Turks amazed the world and took it in completely by the famous revolution against Abdul Hamid and the proclamation of a constitutional form of government. Had MacGahan been living, he would have told his countrymen and the rest of Christendom that the painting of stripes upon a jackass does not make a zebra; that the forms and spirit of constitutionalism are as far apart from the warp and woof of Turkish character as heaven is from the other place; that the only good Turk is the Turk who has to be good or feel the impact of the compelling boot.

The events that have come to pass since the enactment of the Ottoman comedy has demonstrated in striking fashion the spirit of prophecy that dwelt in the body of Januarius Aloysius MacGahan. For the atrocities which he disclosed in Bulgaria in 1876 are being enacted to-day in Albania and in Macedonia, where the Young Turks are seeking to destroy the nationality and the religion of discontented subjects, just as they were doing in Bulgaria under the eyes of the generous son of New Lexington. To-day women are outraged and children spitted on bayonets in Albania under the constitutional regime—a re-enactment of the very methods of pacification which MacGahan saw and described in the neighboring province in 1876—and the same freedom loving England is assuring the world, as it did in MacGahan's startling revelations, that the Turks are as gentle and humane as they can be in their dealings with subject peoples.

Had the advice of MacGahan been followed at the close of the Turkish war, the fangs of the wolf would have been pulled and the beast would not to-day be tearing the remnant of the flock.

In the meanwhile Bulgaria is justifying the sympathy of her great and noble friend from America, who laid down his life in his service to her. His dream of a free and independent Bulgaria was realized shortly after the enactment of the Young Turk Opera Bouffe, when the then Prince of Bulgaria, Ferdinand, amid the solemn setting of the ruins of the Ancient Bulgarian capital at Tirnovo, tore up the Objectionable article of the treaty of Berlin—that compact of thieves and perjurors—

and declared Bulgaria no longer a vassal of the Grand Turk, but untrammelled mistress of her own house. That house, by the verdict of history which MacGahan so potently helped to write, includes Eastern Roumelia. Some day, please God, it shall also include the still enslaved Macedonia.

The act of Tirnovo roused the rabble at Constantinople to frenzy. They set up a demand for an immediate invasion of the territory of the new kingdom. But there were wise men among the statesmen at Stamboul. Early in the course of the Russo-Turkish war MacGahan had informed the world, after the epic of Shipka Pass, that the Bulgarians could fight. Seven years after that war the Bulgarians had verified MacGahan's discernment in a series of brilliant victories over the Servians at Breznik, at Dragoman, at Slivnitsa, at Pirot. In 1908, while Czar Ferdinand was reading the declaration of independence at Tirnovo, there was an army of 50,000 Bulgarians — an army which would have delighted the soul of MacGahan — massed on the Turkish frontiers, awaiting the word for a quick march to Constantinople in the event of a declaration of hostilities by the Turks. So the shouts of the rabble at Stamboul were silenced and Turkey perforce acquiesced in the accomplished facts. Once more the Bulgarians had proved their title to the precious gift of liberty which was theirs partly by the grace of the noble work of their friend from far-off Ohio.

One is impressed, as one considers the progress of the country since those stirring days when MacGahan stretched out the hand of human fellowship to its unhappy people, back in 1876, what delight it would have given him to revisit Bulgaria in the present year of the world's enlightenment. Were he there now he would see thriving cities under a flag of freedom where in his day terror-stricken peasants huddled in starvation-ravaged hovels. He would see the gleaming domes of churches where in his day the shadow of the gallows-tree darkened the landscape. He would come upon school-houses and universities where before he did his invaluable work prisons stifled the groans of tortured men. He would see the light of noon shining full into the places which he saw enveloped in the gloom of night.

Ladies and gentlemen of New Lexington — you who are the neighbors and the kin of MacGahan — you do well to dedicate on this, the natal day of your country's freedom, a monument to your great apostle of freedom. You do well to set up a reminder to the coming generations of the glory and the human kindness of the liberator of a people. But yours is not the power nor the privilege of building the *most* enduring monument to MacGahan. That monument is to be seen on every map of Europe. That monument rears its head upon every peak and summit of Bulgaria's mountains. The sweet and gentle threnody of his life is murmured by every torrent as it rushes singing to the sea. The most enduring monument to MacGahan is builded of indestructible materials in the heart and soul of every Bulgarian, for all time. That monument is Bulgaria itself — free, with its face toward the light, marching steadily to the fulfillment of its destiny; a destiny made possible by the labor of love which Januarius Aloysius MacGahan wrought with his life!



RANDOLPH WALTON.

## ADDRESS OF HON. RANDOLPH WALTON.

Those in charge of these ceremonies are to be highly commended for conceiving the idea of having this Perry county homecoming on the Fourth of July. Their action leads us to a contemplation of the two loftiest and noblest sentiments known to men — love of country and love of home.

The birth of this republic and its subsequent growth in power and influence, have not only been beacon-lights of hope to all people, and leavens which have lifted all the nations of earth to higher and better things, but have brought with them a series of unique and distinctively American festivals or holidays. Before the "Spirit of Seventy-Six" was materialized at Yorktown, the people of the world had been accustomed

in their fêtes and holidays to celebrate the achievements of princes or rulers, of emperors or kings. With the victory of the Colonies came a new order of things, and holidays were then and have since been set apart celebrating and glorifying the great achievements of the people themselves.

Thanksgiving day was born when the Pilgrims at Plymouth bowed in prayer and gave thanks to the great ruler of us all for their escape from oppression and deliverance from the dangers of the deep.

Labor Day is a holiday consecrated to those who toil, celebrating the progress of labor from the low state where it was deemed fit only for slaves to its present high dignity where it is worthy of the participation of all.

Decoration Day is a day devoted to recalling and recounting the glorious deeds of our citizen soldiers in preventing the dismemberment of this Union, perpetuating the principles upon which it was founded, and preserving its Flag untarnished in the sky.

The Fourth of July is and ever should be the greatest holiday celebration among men. Its observance each year should imbue us all with a deeper love and reverence for the glorious traditions of our struggles for liberty. The significance of this day is lost unless we are led to more clearly realize what that liberty means to us and to more fully appreciate the blessings we enjoy under this government of the people.

It sometimes seems that all the history that is worth reading is that which has been made since the discovery of America in 1492. Before the inspired Columbus put out upon the un-sailed seas and came at last upon this vast continent, this old world hardly knew how to live. The minds and aspirations of men had been blunted and lowered by centuries of despotism and oppression. But here, out of the West came tidings of better things, wonderful stories of a vast and fertile land, whose forests and streams and plains would supply the settler with homes and food; a land where man could be free—free to worship or not, according to the dictates of his own reason—a land where, unaided and unhindered, he could work out that destiny his Creator intended for him.

A free republic is the most fruitful in the birth of genius. Great ideas are almost unknown under despotism. Since 1492 how mightily hath man wrought for progress? How irresistible has been the onward sweep of civilization!

Since then Shakespeare and Milton and Burns and Byron have penned their immortal lines. The absurd idea of the "divine right of kings" has constantly given way before the insistence upon the diviner rights of man. Washington and his fellow patriots have brought forth this nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to popular sovereignty. Hamilton and Jay and Madison and Jefferson have written their wise essays on government, paving the way for the adoption of the Constitution. Webster has expounded that great instrument, and Marshall has applied it to the affairs of our national life. Irving and Hawthorne and Emerson and Longfellow have laid the foundation of our national literature. The printing press, with its immense power for enlightenment, has been perfected, so that the humblest homes now possess libraries that would have been the envy of old time kings, and the school boy of today is wiser than the ancient sage. The sewing machine has come to lighten woman's burdens and revolutionize the dress of the race. Steam and electricity have been made to warm and light our homes, perform our labors, flash our messages through space, and bear us upon our journeys with the swiftness of the wind. Science, with an Alexandrian restlessness, is constantly longing for new fields of conquest, and even now we are seeing intrepid pioneer souls "on joyful wings cleaving the sky." Lincoln wrote the immortal proclamation which forever banished the curse of human slavery from our fair domain. Later, this nation went to war in defense of the oppressed and helpless, swept the last vestige of Spanish tyranny from the Western Hemisphere, furnishing the spectacle, unparalleled in all history, of a nation expending its blood and treasure in defense of a neighboring people, with no more selfish motive than that of seeing them sharing the blessings of a republican form of government which we ourselves enjoy. And the light is breaking in the east, for only recently we have seen the birth of popular government in Portugal; and in Russia and Turkey we have seen the hellish designs of force

and murder overwhelmed and defeated by the progressive champions of more representative government.

These things have all come about because of the inspiration of this one free Republic.

It is a beautiful custom that men have of erecting memorials of bronze or brass or marble to perpetuate the names and preserve from obscurity some recollection of the worth and works of those who have been benefactors of the race. The results of these efforts to prolong the memory of man have been of varying degrees of effectiveness, ranging all the way from the wonderful pyramids of the Pharaohs to the pathetic wooden cross of the potter's field. The most enduring of these, in the fierce crucible of time will crumble to dust and inoulder away, and their "pomp is one with Nineva and Tyre."

Those who have created, preserved and defended our country have a monument more enduring and more glorious than any that has ever been builded with hands and lifted its mute appeal to the sky in behalf of soldier or statesman, poet or philosopher, emperor or king. This Republic—with its fertile farms, nurseries of our brawn and brain; its thriving cities, pulsating with the activity and industry of millions; its commerce, borne by the railroads over the land and by the ships across the sea; its school houses, sheltering the boys and girls who are wiser than the ancient philosophers; the many homes, where security and happiness reign; its mills and factories and forges, illumining the sky with their lurid flame and sending their smoke like incense into the heavens—this Republic, with these and the other things which make it the grandest of all the powers of the earth, stands here as a living, lasting monument to all the good, true and noble men who have helped to create, advance and preserve it.

Inseparably connected with all the greatness of our country, interwoven with all the tender memories of the past—the inspiration of mankind everywhere—is the flag which stands as the emblem of this matchless Republic. While ours is one of the youngest of the nations, ours is one of the very oldest flags in point of adoption. It was first hoisted by Paul Jones, on the day it was adopted, June 14th, 1777, aboard the ship "Ranger."

It inspired the colonists through the trials and triumphs of the Revolution; was carried by Decatur against the Barbary pirates; was with Perry on Lake Erie; with Jackson back of the cotton bales at New Orleans; went with Scott on his victorious sweep through Mexico; still waved "When Sherman from Atlanta marched in triumph to the sea, and Grant at Appomattox stopped the flying hosts of Lee."

This flag, which caught the dying gaze of Lawrence and draped the sacred dust of Washington, shall be first in the hearts of loyal Americans forever. This flag was once hauled down in temporary defeat from Sumter, but after the insult had been avenged was raised again by the devoted hands of General Anderson who had been permitted to take it away when the fort capitulated. We love the Stars and Stripes, not alone because it is the most beautiful of all national banners, but more profoundly because it is the emblem of the one nation whose only king is an uncrowned monarch known as the will of the majority, and whose only nobility is the nobility of character and manhood.

"Boast of your war trained captains, Kaiser, Emperor, Czar;  
Pride of your serried warrior hosts, and babble of might afar;  
Point to your brilliant banners that follow the train of Mars,  
But pray they may never meet in strife the flag of the Stripes and Stars.

Flag of a freezing army, that famished at Valley Forge,  
Flag which a Viking flung aloft and humbled the cross of George;  
Flag once torn by statesmen, now mended and shows no scars—  
Flag of our nation, hail—all hail!—the flag of the Stripes and Stars.

Down with the cold eyed pennant who sees but a textile rag,  
Up with the fiery patriot soul who shouts as he sees the flag,  
And honor to those who bear it, men of the sword and tars,  
As far as the eagle may take his flight, the flag of the Stripes and Stars."

From the sentiment of patriotism, let us turn now to that of home. Someone has described home as "A place easily left but not easily forgotten." That definition is certainly true of Perry county homes, because when the invitations from the home coming committee went forth to all parts of the earth,

saying "Weary ones, where'er you wander, come, oh come," the transplanted sons and daughters of old Perry began longing once more to look upon the familiar scenes and faces of former days—and thank God that so many of them have been permitted to be here today.

The home coming habit is as old as man. It is impossible to discover who was the originator of this beautiful custom. The first man to give the practice the right sort of vogue and publicity was the Prodigal Son. When, after being reduced to hunger and want, he thought of the love of his father and the bounty of his father's household, and said "I will arise and go to my father," he became the patron saint of all homecomers forever.

Those of you who have returned here to your old homes have been led by longings much akin to those which took possession of that pioneer homecomer. The Prodigal returned in a spirit of humility and abjection; you come willingly and gladly. He was forced to return because he had wasted his substance in riotous living; you are enabled to return because you have well employed the talents entrusted to you. When the Prodigal returned, the brother who had remained at home, sulked and objected to the father killing the fatted calf, preparing the rich feast, and lavishing upon the wanderer the best robe; but with you, friends, as you return, it is different. Those who have remained at home while you have been wandering, give you a hearty welcome and have helped old Perry to kill the fatted calf and prepare the feast for you, and the only injunction they have to place upon you is "Do not hurry away."

Homecomings are most excellent institutions. They afford to the middle aged and the old an opportunity to take a sort of inventory of themselves as it were. Back here in the midst of the old scenes, they can recall the hopes, the ambitions, and the air-castles of their childhood days, and can see how nearly the achievements of maturity have approached the aspirations and expectations of youth.

This event should not be lost upon the young people present. They should ponder well the stories of the pioneers who founded Perry county, should become familiar with its history,

and should study well the lessons to be drawn from the lives of those stalwart men and women who have sustained the good name and standing of the county, from the time of its formation on March 1st, 1817, down to the present time; those who, by reason of their intelligence, their enterprise, and their patriotism have been leaders in the educational, industrial, and political affairs of the community. The first lesson to be drawn from the lives of those pioneers is that of fidelity to duty. That was the trait which marked them among their fellows and crowned their struggles with success.

The boys and girls here today must be the successors of those faithful men and women who have been and are now carrying the responsibilities of leadership in all the affairs of life. Well will it be for them, and for the future, if these young people go forth from these homecoming exercises with a determination to profit by the examples and follow in the footsteps of the noble men and women who have thus far so honorably and ably upheld the good name and fame of Perry county.

Perry County has not only been fortunate in the caliber and character of the men who have been her teachers, her clergymen, physicians, merchants, workingmen; those who have served her locally, and who have represented her in legislature and congress and have graced the benches of all courts; but she has sent forth her sons into all parts of the Union, some of whom by sheer force of ability have lifted themselves to leadership, reflected great credit upon the place of their birth, and have ably served their adopted states in the gubernatorial chair and as their representatives in the senate of the United States. That is why all loyal sons and daughters of Perry county today love the living Governor Carroll of Iowa, and cherish with reverence the memory of the late Senator Stephen B. Elkins of West Virginia.

There was also loved and nurtured here in the rugged hills of Perry county two brave Irish-American lads, whose achievements challenged the attentions of the civilized world.

One of these was the son of a laboring man, who had come from Albany, New York, where the child was born, to work on

the old national road. The boy worked for a time in a hardware store and later, in a dry goods store in Somerset. He was selected by General Richie, member of congress, as cadet to West Point in 1848; graduated July 1st, 1853, entered the army as Brevet Second Lieutenant on May 14th, 1851, and by his distinguished bravery in the Civil War and meritorious services in the regular army, rose through the various grades of command, until in 1888, he attained the supreme title of "General" of the army of the United States, the commission of which had been before him held by but three men—George Washington, Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman. This Perry county boy was remarkable in that he was equally skillful in the command of artillery, infantry, or cavalry, and some historian has said that he saw the back of more rebels than any other federal commander. At three o'clock one morning General Grant summoned him from his bed and said, "I want you to break the rebel lines, and if you fail, go and join Sherman." This little fighting Irishman replied, "I'll make the attempt, but I'll not go to Sherman; I propose to end it right here." His command charged at Five Forks, the almost invincible lines of Lee were broken, and Richmond was doomed.

From the beautiful National cemetery at Arlington, the Valhalla of our nation's heroic dead, looking across that beautiful vista, as if standing as a silent sentinel over the national Capitol which he in life so zealously guarded and defended, is the simple, rugged monument to this Perry county boy, and upon that monument is inscribed the imperishable, immortal name of Philip H. Sheridan.

Tomorrow, here in New Lexington, will be dedicated a monument to another son of Perry county, whose name and the glory of whose achievements transcended all sectional, state and national boundary lines and stirred the hearts of men everywhere. He, too, was of the number who "came up through great tribulations," from an obscure home, struggled along the way that has been traveled by the self-made giants of our Republic, and the story of his modest, unselfish, self-sacrificing, heroic career, is one of the most beautiful that has ever been recorded.

This man was Januarius A. MacGahan. In his early manhood he had the ambition to teach his home school, but the school board, thinking him too young, decreed otherwise. He then went to Huntington, Indiana, and taught successfully for two years, taking mother and the rest of the family, leaving Perry county as a home forever. He later moved to St. Louis, where he spent four years, working as a bookkeeper, studying and writing for the press. He then went to Europe, with a view of studying foreign languages and fitting himself for the practice of the law, but in the Providence of God there was another and larger work mapped out for him to do. He was engaged by the New York Herald and the London News to act as their war correspondent with the French army in the Franco-Prussian war. As the representative of those papers MacGahan was in all the wars of Europe for ten years before his death. He was condemned to death by the Commune in Paris, and later by the Republicans in Spain, who mistook him for a Carlist, but each time was saved by the diplomatic representatives of the United States. No man ever had a more varied experience. He traveled through Europe with General Sherman and party in the early seventies, went with the Pandora expedition to the Arctic seas in 1875, while his long and perilous ride across the Asiatic deserts to Khiva was the greatest display of courage and endurance, of fearlessness in the midst of strange and savage peoples in an unknown land, of which there is any record.

But the greatest work of MacGahan was that of exposing the fiendish acts of pillage and murder which Turkey was perpetrating upon weak and helpless Bulgaria. His vivid, thrilling accounts of the wrongs inflicted upon the Bulgarians fired the hearts of humane people everywhere, and brought to the aid of the Bulgarians a powerful friend in the person of the Czar of Russia, who put a stop to the atrocities of the Turk and drove him back to his own Capital. Bulgaria was free and MacGahan was her deliverer and savior. And the gratitude which shall ever abide in the hearts of the people of far-off Bulgaria is the most fitting memorial to Januarius MacGahan.

"When a deed is done for freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast,  
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west,  
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb  
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime  
Of a century bursts full blossomed on the thorny stem of time."

Mild-mannered, lion-hearted, clean-souled MacGahan! To you it was given to do a deed for freedom, and the romantic story of your birth, your boyhood struggles, your glorious work in carrying abroad the spirit of free America, of your communion with the great and powerful of the earth, and of your death for a friend, will go singing like a benediction down the ages.

Bless old Perry County. May her future be in keeping with her honored past, and may the rising and coming generations prove worthy successors of the sturdy men and noble women who have been her home-builders and creators.



## SKETCH OF CORNSTALK.

1759 - 1777.

[The following sketch of Cornstalk, is from the Draper MSS., Border Forays, 3 D, Chap. XVIII, in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. It is herewith published for the first time through the courtesy of Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society.—EDITOR.]

The early history of *Cornstalk*<sup>1</sup> is involved in obscurity. During those eventful years of Indian attack and massacre between 1754 and 1763, there can be no doubt that he was a prominent leader. His forays were directed against the frontier settlements of Virginia, as most approachable from the Scioto country, where the Shawanees were then mostly concentrated.

The earliest of these expeditions, of which there is any record, was one he led against several families of the name of Gilmore, and others, who resided on Carr's Creek, in what is now Rockbridge County. Suddenly and unexpectedly Cornstalk and his war-party fell upon these people, October tenth, 1759, and massacred ten persons, men, women and children, with the usual shocking barbarity attendant on Indian warfare; among them, John Gilmore, wife and son, and the wife of William Gilmore. While an Indian was scalping Thomas Gilmore, he was knocked down by Mrs. Gilmore with an iron kettle; when another Indian ran, with uplifted tomahawk, to kill her, and was only prevented from doing so by the Indian who lay bleeding from the blows she had given him, exclaimed quickly, "don't kill her; she is a good warrior," and this magnanimity in a savage saved her life. A little girl whom they tomahawked and scalped and left for dead, recovered, and lived thirty or forty years. They burned and laid waste the homes of six of the settlers, killed many cattle, carried off eleven unhappy prisoners, and many horses laden with the spoils they had taken.

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<sup>1</sup> His Indian name was Keigh-tugh-qua, signifying Cornblade or Cornstalk: See Hist. of Western Pennsylvania, App., 162, 164.

Captain Christian pursued the marauders with a party of militia who were joined by an equal number of the frontier battalion under Captain Thomas Fleming, stationed at Fort Dunlop; and after following the trail several days, they finally overtook the enemy west of the Alleghanies. It was intended to have attacked them in their night camp, but the accidental discharge of a musket, gave the Indians an opportunity to escape, which they improved in such hot haste, that they abandoned all their prisoners, seventeen horses, and all the stolen goods, some money, beside match-coats<sup>2</sup>, blankets, and many other articles. Six white scalps were recovered. From the prisoners they learned, that there were two Frenchmen with the Indians; and in the baggage were found the French orders, directing the expedition, dated at Scioto. The loss of the people whose property was devastated, exceeded \$2,000; but it was no small matter of congratulation, in the midst of their sufferings, that the prisoners were rescued from an unhappy captivity, and that Cornstalk and his warriors were sent home without any trophies, and destitute of many articles of their necessary clothing. The "Carr's Creek Massacre," with its horrors and its acts of heroism, was long kept in remembrance by the people of that region and their descendants.<sup>3</sup>

At length the storm of war ceased, and peace again smiled in the Western valley. It was only, however, temporary—more deceptive than real. Cornstalk was evidently dissatisfied, and became a party to the grand Indian combination under Pontiac in 1763. He sallied forth from the Scioto towns, at the head of about sixty warriors, aiming to strike the border settlements of Virginia before the news should reach them of the simultaneous attack on the frontier posts, and the capture of many of them. In this he was but too successful. Reaching the nearest Greenbrier settlement in June, which was a German one, on Muddy Creek, where the new settlers had raised but two crops, the Shawanees boldly entered the people's houses, un-

<sup>2</sup> A garment made of coarse woolen cloth.

<sup>3</sup> Virginia Gazette, Nov. 9, 1759. Maryland Gazette, Nov. 22, 1759. S. C. Gazette, Nov. 24, 1759. Stuart's Indian Wars, 39. Campbell's Memoir, 181. Foote's Virginia, Second Series, 159. Col. Boliver Christian's Scotch-Irish Settlers of the Valley of Virginia, 25.

der the guise of friendship, and received every civility of personal attention and entertainment; when, on a sudden, they killed the men, captured the women and children, plundered the houses, and reduced them to ashes. Except a few who had charge of the prisoners. Cornstalk's party passed over to the Levels of Greenbrier, where some seventy-five people had collected at Archibald Clendenin's, within two miles of the present locality of Lewisburg, and where Ballard Smith long resided. Here, as at Muddy Creek, the Indians were hospitably entertained; for none suspected any hostile intentions, save Clendenin's wife alone, who did not like the manner in which they were painted, as it differed from what she had been accustomed to see.

Clendenin had just returned from a hunt, having killed three fat elk; and, as the warriors asked for something to eat, a plentiful feast was promised them. As he had been very successful of late in killing large numbers of buffalo, elk and deer, he cut off the clear meat and salted it down for future use; while the bones and fragments were boiled up in a large kettle for the present supply. His wife was at that time cooking a kettle full, under a shed near the house. Handing her infant to her husband, she took a large pewter dish and meat-fork in her hand, and went out to bring some of the food for the Indians.

At this juncture, an old woman having a diseased limb, aware of the medicinal virtues of the wilderness supposed to be known to the Indians, explained her distress to one of the warriors, and asked if he could not suggest or administer some relief? He promptly said, that he thought he could; and drawing his tomahawk, he instantly killed the poor woman, which was the signal for others to engage in the bloody work assigned them. nearly all the men were quickly dispatched. Conrad Yoakman who was some little distance from the house, being alarmed by the outcries of the women and children, made his escape. A negro woman, who with her husband, was working in a field near by, started to run away, followed by her crying child; she tarried long enough to kill her little one, to stop its noise, and save her own life. With her companion, she made good her escape to Augusta.

Clendenin might have saved his life, had he either sur-

rendered himself, or not been encumbered with the child; for he started to run, and was making an effort to reach the fence that separated the door-yard from a corn-field. Had he gained the field he would doubtless have eluded the pursuit of the Indians, as the corn was high enough to have concealed him; but he was killed in the act of climbing the fence, he falling one side, and the child the other.

Mrs. Clendenin has scarcely left the house, when she heard Mr. Clendenin exclaim, "Lord, have mercy on me!" when she dropped her dish and fork, and, turning back, saw an Indian with her husband's scalp in his hand, which he held up by the long hair, shaking the blood from it. She rushed upon the murderer, and, in a fit of frenzy, asked him to kill her too, even spitting in his face to provoke him to do so. She did not fail to reproach him and his fellows with baseness by every epithet known to her—even charging them with being cowards, the worst accusation that could be made against a warrior; and though the tomahawk was brandished over her head, and she threatened with instant death, and her husband's bloody scalp thrown in her face, she nevertheless fearlessly renewed uttering the several invectives her ready tongue could invent. Her brother, John Ewing, who was spared from the general massacre, said to the Indian, "Oh, never mind her, she is a foolish woman." Following this suggestion, the warrior desisted from making the intended tomahawk stroke.

Yoakum fled to Jackson's River, alarming the people, who were unwilling to believe his terrible report, until the approach of the Indians convinced them of its fearful reality; many saved themselves by flight, while not a few of the aged and helpless fell victims to their fury. The newspaper accounts of the time only refer to the Greenbrier and Jackson River settlements having been cut off, in June, 1763; but Carr's Creek received another visitation, and there, too, many families were killed and taken.<sup>4</sup>

Near Keeney's Knob, not very far distant from Clendenin's,

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<sup>4</sup> Stuart's Indian Wars, 39, 60. Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States, Hartford, 1828, 63.

resided a family of the name of Lee, who shared the fate of the others—some killed, and others captured. All the prisoners, taken at the several places, were hurried over to Muddy Creek, where they were detained till the main body of the warriors returned from Jackson's River, and the Carr's Creek settlements with their prisoners and booty. An old Indian was left in charge of the captive women and children, Ewing having been taken with the war party. Mrs. Clendenin made up her mind to kill the old Indian, if the other women would aid her. Her first effort was (to) ascertain if the old fellow could speak or understand English; but making no reply to her inquiries, she took it for granted that he could not. She consequently made her proposal to her sister prisoners, but they were too timid to consent to any such heroic attempt. During the few days' absence of the warriors, Mrs. Clendenin was too narrowly watched by the vigilant old guard to effect anything. He had evidently overheard her proposition, and sufficiently comprehended its import; for when their ears were saluted with the whooping of the returning warriors, with the jingling bells of the horses, the old fellow sprang to his feet, exclaiming in plain English, with an oath, "Yes, good news." Mrs. Clendenin now expected nothing but death for her plotting his destruction, but she heard nothing further of it.

The war party had been successful in their foray, for they returned with many additional captives, and a large number of horses loaded with booty, and every horse had on an open bell. Mrs. Clendenin still resolved on effecting her escape, even at the risk of her life. As they started from the foot of Keeney's Knob, the Indians mostly in front, the prisoners next, and the horses with their tinkling music bringing up the rear, and one Indian fellow prisoner to carry; and when they came to a very steep precipice on one side of the route, and the Indians carelessly pursuing their way, she watched her opportunity, when unobserved, to jump down the precipice, and crept under a large rock. She lay still until she heard the last bell pass by; and concluding they had not yet missed her, she began to hope that her scheme was successful. After some little time elapsed, she heard footsteps approaching very distinctly and heavily. They

drew near the place of her concealment; and in her leaning posture, on her hands and knees, with her head bent forward to the ground, she awaited the fatal stroke of some unfeeling pursuer. She ventured, however, to raise her eyes, and behold a large bear was standing over her! The animal was as much surprised as she was, for it gave a fierce growl, and ran off at its best speed.

Soon missing her, the Indians took her child, and laid it on the ground, thinking its cries would induce her to return; but she was too far away for this, when the wretches would torture and beat the little thing, saying, "Make the calf bawl, and the cow will come." At length they unfeelingly beat out its brains against a tree, and went on without the mother; who remained under the rock till dark, when she sought her way back. Traveling all that night, she concealed herself the next day, and during the second night reached her desolate habitation. As she came in sight of the place, she thought she heard wild beasts howling in every direction, and thought she heard voices of all sorts, and saw images of all shapes, moving through the cornfield—and, with an almost overpowering sense of mingled fear and desolation she imagined she saw a man standing within a few steps of her. She withdrew to a spring in the forest, and remained there till morning; when she visited the place, found her husband's body by the fence, with his body shockingly mutilated, and her lifeless child nearby, and covered them, as well as she could, with a buffalo hide and some fence rails, finding her strength unequal to the task of covering them with earth.

Resuming her journey, Mrs. Clendenin directed her course for the nearest settlements in Augusta, from which the Greenbrier emigrants had originally set out. At Howard's Creek, some ten miles from the present locality of Lewisburg, she met a party of several white men, who had heard by the two negro fugitives, that every soul was killed at the Greenbrier settlements, and came to drive away the cattle, and save whatever else was spared by the Indians. Among these men was one who was heir-at-law of the Clendenin family, who was evidently much disconcerted that she had escaped the general massacre. This wretch offered her no sort of sympathy, nor any relief whatever.

Some of his companions, however, gave her a piece of bread, and a cooked duck; but the half-famished condition of her stomach loathed food, and she wrapped them up in her petticoat, and pursued her journey by herself, expecting she would enjoy them when her appetite should return. Unfortunately she lost them without ever tasting a single morsel.

While pursuing her lonely journey, she had the good fortune to find an Indian blanket, which proved of great service to her; as, when her clothes became torn, and her limbs lacerated, by briars and brambles, she was enabled to make leggins of it for her protection. After nine nights' painful journeying, secreting herself by day to avoid the danger of recapture, she at length reached Dickinson's, on the Cowpasture River. During all this time, she ate nothing but an onion and a little salt, which she found on a shelf, in a springhouse, at a deserted plantation.

The history of the two children of Mrs. Clendenin who had been captured—a boy and a girl—require a brief mention. Her brother, surrendered probably at Bouquet's treaty the following year, narrated the particulars of the untimely fate of the little boy. He had been formally adopted by an aged Indian couple, all of whose children were dead, who became very much attached to the lad, and he in return to them. But one day, the old man became displeased with his wife on some account, and told the child, whom she directed to get some water, not to go; for if he did, he would kill him. At length the old Indian went out to the field, and the child, glad of the opportunity to please his mother, picked up the vessel and set off for the spring; but the surly old fellow seeing him from where he was walked up behind the unsuspecting lad, and gave him a fatal blow with his tomahawk. "I was obliged," said the conscience-stricken Indian, "to approach him behind, that I might not see his face; for if I had, I could never have had the courage to kill him."

The little girl was seven years with the Indians, and when brought to her mother, the latter could recognize nothing whatever to indicate her as her child, and she disowned her, saying, "She is not mine." The little waif scampered off among other captive children, who had not yet been reclaimed. Thinking over the matter, the mother called to mind a mark on the

body of her daughter, when she ran to her to see if she could find this evidence of identity. Upon examination, she found it. Her long-lost child was indeed restored to her; but with such thorough Indian habits, that it was a long time before the mother felt any particular attachment for her. It need only be added, that Mrs. Clendenin, returning from her captivity to her old neighborhood in Augusta, subsequently married a man named Rogers; and, when peace was restored, she again settled on the place where the massacre occurred, and, on looking about the old premises, Mrs. Rogers found the dish and meat-fork where she dropped them on the day her former husband was killed; and there she resided till 1817, when she died at the age of seventy-nine years. She is represented to have been a woman of strong mind, invincible courage and unequalled fortitude. Her daughter, an heiress to a valuable landed estate, had many suitors when she grew to womanhood, and at length gave her hand to a man by the name of Davis. One of her daughters became the wife of Ballard Smith, of Greenbrier, one of the first lawyers in the western country, and six years a representative from his district in Congress.<sup>5</sup>

It is related that when the captive survivors of the Carr's Creek Massacre, reached the Shawanese towns, the Indians, in cruel sport, called on them to sing, as they had done at their evening camps while journeying through the wilderness. Unappalled by the bloody scenes they had already witnessed, and the fearful tortures that might yet be in reserve for them, within that dark forest where all hope of rescue seemed forbidden, and undaunted by the fiendish revellings of their savage captors, they sang aloud, with the most pious fervor, from Rouse's version of the one hundred and thirty-seventh psalm, as they had often done, in more hopeful days, within the sacred walls of old "Timber Ridge Church," near which they lived.

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<sup>5</sup> Penn. Gaz. July 28, 1763. Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States, 60-66. The author of this work obtained his narrative from Mrs. Maiz, a step-daughter of Mrs. Clendenin in 1824, corroborated by several others. Stuart's Indian Wars, 39, 40. Withers' Chronicles, 70, 71.

"On Babel's stream we sat and wept when Zion we thought on,  
In midst thereof we hanged our harps the willow trees among,  
For then a song required they who did us captive bring,  
Our Spoilers called for mirth, and said—a song of Zion sing."<sup>6</sup>

It were difficult to judge, whether the captive Jews, or the captives of Carr's Creek, felt the most poignantly their desolate condition; but Time, that sweet restorer of hopes and joys, eventually brought them alike out of their unhappy bondage. What particular part Cornstalk enacted in all this, save that he was the leader of the forayers, history is silent.

When Colonel Bouquet, the ensuing year, penetrated the Ohio country and compelled the Indians to make peace, Cornstalk was one of the designated hostages, on the part of the Shawanese sent to Fort Pitt, in fulfillment of the terms of the treaty; but they soon afterward managed to effect their escape.<sup>7</sup> Nothing further is heard of him, during the long interval of nominal peace which followed, till the war of 1774, already related, and with which his name and fame are so intimately interwoven.

At a critical period of this border out-break, in the month of May, after the alarming affairs at Captina and Yellow Creek were well-known in the Indian towns, and while Logan was upon the war-path, the head Shawanese chiefs of the Scioto towns shielded Richard Butler and other Pennsylvania traders among them from the fury of the Mingoes; and when the latter, towards the close of that month, were ready to depart with their goods, Cornstalk sent his brother, Silver Heels, to protect them on their homeward journey. On the return of this chief, with two Indian companions, from this friendly mission, they were waylaid and fired on, by a party of frontiersmen under William Linn, near the mouth of Beaver, and Silver Heels dangerously wounded. Nor was this all. Cornstalk, at the same time, sent a speech, by the united advice of several of his associate chiefs,

<sup>6</sup> Christian's Scotch-Irish settlers, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Hist. of Western Pennsylvania, Appendix, 164. Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition, (Lond., 1766), 34. Stone's Life and Times of Sir Wm. Johnson, II, 238.

addressed to the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the commandant at Pittsburgh, entreating them to put a stop to any further hostilities, and they would endeavor to do the same.<sup>8</sup>

The invasions of the Ohio country by Bouquet and Bradstreet, in 1764, served to convince this sagacious chieftain, that neither his own nation, nor indeed the confederated tribes of the Northwest, were able to cope with the strong and growing power of the colonies; and, hence it was, no doubt, that he so readily yielded himself as one of the hostages on that occasion, in order to secure an honorable peace for his people. In 1774, he had a trying part to perform—in earnest endeavors to pacify both the frontier settlers and Indians, and restrain, if possible, the half-smothered fires ready to burst along the whole border. His experience and observation taught him, that peace was the true policy of both races. But he soon found that the counsels of the wise and the aged were utterly lost on the fiery and turbulent young spirits of his nation. Though he failed in dissuading them from the folly of imbruining their hands in the bloody contest, he was too much of a patriot to forsake his people, heady and reckless though they were, and went forth with them to battle. His whole conduct evinces the highest exhibition of tact and wisdom in council, with the loftiest traits of bravery in the field. He fought like a hero; and yielded with becoming grace and dignity when fighting was no longer of any avail, giving up his own son, the Wolf, at the treaty of Camp Charlotte, as one of the hostages for the faithful fulfillment of its stipulations.

Captain Wm. Russell, who was left in command of Fort Blair—afterwards called Fort Randolph—at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, proved himself a wise and discreet officer. Thither Cornstalk frequently resorted to brighten the chain of friendship, and sometimes to deliver up horses in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of Camp Charlotte. During the winter of 1774-5, he made such a visit. On the fourth of June, 1775, he again arrived at the fort, and spent four days with Captain Russell, reporting that the news of the affairs of Concord

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<sup>8</sup> Heckewelder's Indian Nations, 174, 223, 274. Richard Butler's deposition, Aug. 23, 1774, in Penn. Archives, IV, 569-70.

and Lexington had been received at the Shawanese towns eight or ten days before his departure. The Mingoes, according to Cornstalk's information, were behaving very insolently, calling the Shawanese the Big Knife people, and upbraiding them with having, in a cowardly manner, made the treaty with Lord Dunmore. The Picts, or Miamies, were also represented as unfriendly in their feeling toward the Colonies.

Cornstalk had scarcely returned to his people, when he sent a very friendly letter to Captain Russell, written, at the chief's dictation, by a trader, in which he assured the Captain that the Shawanese were always willing to comply with any reasonable request that the Big Knife should ask; that a negro woman had been returned as desired, but her two children were retained, as the Indians claimed them as their own "flesh and blood" and could not consent that they should be enslaved, and that they had sent in all the horses they had taken from the white people. He expressed the hope, that the Shawanese would not be charged with having taken all the horses the Virginians may have lost, as several other nations took horses as well as they. He further said, that he, his brother, Nimwha, and his son, would soon start for Fort Pitt to confirm the treaty made at Camp Charlotte, by which the Shawanese expected to abide.<sup>9</sup>

The contemplated treaty at Pittsburgh, was at first intended to elaborate minor details for which time did not permit at Camp Charlotte; but which, in the changed circumstances of the country, was more particularly designed to ratify the former treaty,<sup>10</sup> and conciliate the Western tribes generally. It was at length held in the autumn of 1775. Cornstalk participated in it, and, as an assurance of keeping his plighted faith with the Colonies, he cited the fact that when some of the Cherokees robbed the new settlers in Kentucky the preceding Spring, he and his people wrested two of the stolen horses from the plunderers, and delivered them at the mouth of the Kanawha, whither they had likewise returned a negro woman; and claimed

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<sup>9</sup> Cornstalk to Russell, June 15, 1775: MS. letter, written in beautiful vermilion ink. MS. letter of Russell to Preston, June 12, 1775.

<sup>10</sup> Burk's Hist. Virginia, III. 428.

that they had been all the past winter delivering up horses taken from the white people. Colonel Andrew Lewis, one of the Commissioners at the treaty, remarked that Cornstalk was the most dignified Indian chief, particularly in council, he ever knew.<sup>11</sup>

In June, 1776, William Wilson was dispatched by the Indian Agent, Colonel George Morgan, to visit the western tribes, whom Cornstalk cheerfully aided in every measure calculated to preserve the neutrality of the Indians, accompanying him to the Wyandotts, near Detroit, for that purpose. In November of this year, Cornstalk again visited the fort at Point Pleasant, then commanded by Captain Arbuckle. But the storm was fast gathering, which was soon to burst, with all its fury, upon the frontier settlements. British presents and British influence were too powerful with the fickle Indian tribes, the younger portions of which were always but too ready to be enticed into war, when the double prospect of glory and plunder was glitteringly held out before them.

Trusty messengers were still dispatched to the Indian country, and treaties appointed, with the fond hope of averting the impending storm; but all to no purpose. It was as much as Cornstalk could do to restrain his own particular tribe of the Shawanese, from engaging in the war; all the others took up the tomahawk; ammunition was forwarded to them, early in 1777, from Detroit, and hostile parties were quickly on the war-path. In his intercourse at the Moravian Mission at Gnadenhütten, on the Tuscarawas, Cornstalk had formed so great a regard for John Jacob Schmick and wife, that he adopted them both into the Shawanese nation as his brother and sister. But all whose hearts were poisoned with British sentiments were proof against the good principles of peace inculcated by the noble and disinterested Cornstalk.

On the nineteenth of September, two prominent Shawanese, Red Hawk's son, and a one-eyed Indian, familiarly called Old Yie, arrived at Point Pleasant with a string of white wampum, which they delivered with a speech replete with strong protesta-

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<sup>11</sup> MS. Proceedings of the Treaty. MS. letter of Andrew Lewis, Jr., to Dr. S. L. Campbell, April 25, 1840.

tions of friendship. They then submitted a suspicious black string, which they said was sent to the Delawares by George Morgan, the American Indian agent, and forwarded by the Delawares to the Shawanese, the significance of which they professed to be desirous of learning. Their understanding of it, however, they sufficiently explained, when they confessed, that on the receipt of the black string, with information of an army about to invade their country—referring doubtless, to an intended expedition by General Edward Hand, then in command at Pittsburgh,—the Indians embodied themselves. They concluded by begging strenuously that Cornstalk and his particular tribe might be exempt from any hostile blow. Under the circumstances, Captain Arbuckle, suspecting them to be spies, felt himself justified in detaining these Indian messengers.<sup>12</sup>

Some eight days after, Cornstalk's son, El-i-nip-si-co, and an Indian youth of some twelve years, made their appearance on horseback, on the northern bank of the Ohio, opposite to Point Pleasant; and hallooing over, the interpreter, Scoppathan, an old German, and his wife, formerly prisoners with the Indians, assured them that they could safely visit the fort and depart unmolested whenever they pleased. El-i-nip-si-co's errand was, to learn why the messengers were detained, giving assurances that his father, as well as the Hardman and other chiefs, would soon pay the garrison a friendly visit.<sup>13</sup> El-i-nip-si-co remained but a brief period.

What message Arbuckle sent to Cornstalk can only be conjectured. Writing to General Hand at this period, he gave the reason for detaining the Indian messengers, adding that he should hold in custody as many more as should fall into his hands, save those engaged in carrying intelligence, until he should receive further instructions. Duplicity, on his part was, perhaps, deemed fair in war-time—the end justifying the means. At all events, Cornstalk, sometime in October, with his heart filled only with

<sup>12</sup> Arbuckle to Hand, Oct. 6, 1777. Recollections of James Ward, of Kentucky.

<sup>13</sup> Arbuckle to Hand Oct. 6, 1777. Murphy's Recollections.

good will to his Big Knife friends, came fearlessly to the garrison, to renew pledges of friendship, and report the movements of the Indians in the British interest. With his open-hearted frankness, he made no effort at concealment of the hostile disposition of the Indians generally; declaring that, for himself, he was opposed to joining the British in the war; but that all his nation, save his own tribe, were fully resolved, despite all his efforts to the contrary, to engage in it; and that, of course, he and his clan would have to run with the stream, as he expressed it. Cornstalk was now, with the others, detained as a hostage for the neutrality of his people; Capt. Arbuckle assuring them that no other violence should be offered them, provided the treaty of 1774 should still be observed by the nation.<sup>14</sup>

During this visit Captain William McKee, one of the officers assembled there for Hand's intended campaign, had frequent conversations with Cornstalk with reference to the antiquities of the West, in which the old chief evinced much intelligence and reflection. In reply to an inquiry respecting the mound and fort-builders, he stated that it was the current and assured tradition among his people, that Ohio and Kentucky had once been settled by a white race, possessed of arts of which the Indians had no knowledge that, after many sanguinary contests with the natives, these invaders were at length exterminated. McKee inquired why the Indians had not learned these arts of those ancient white people? Cornstalk replied indefinitely, relating that the Great Spirit had once given the Indians a book which taught them all these arts; but they had lost it, and had never since regained a knowledge of them. What people were they, McKee asked, who made so many graves on the Ohio, and at other places? He declared that he did not know, and remarked that it was not his nation, or any he had been acquainted with. The Captain next practically repeated a former inquiry, by asking Cornstalk if he could tell who made those old forts, which

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<sup>14</sup> MS. letter of Arbuckle to Hand, Oct. 6, 1777. Murphy's Recollections; the relator was at Point Pleasant a part of the time while the Indians were confined there. Stuart's Indian Wars, 58. Campbell's MS. Memoir.

displayed so much skill in fortifying? He answered, that he only knew that a story had been handed down from a *very long ago people*, that there had been a white race inhabiting the country who made the graves and forts; and, added, that some Indians, who had travelled very far west, or north-west, had found a nation or people, who lived as Indians generally do, although of a different complexion.<sup>15</sup>

On the ninth of November, El-i-nip-si-co came on the filial errand to learn if his revered father was alive and well. Arriving at the river, opposite the fort, he hallooed over desiring that a canoe might be sent for him. Cornstalk was, at the moment, by request of the officers, in the act of delineating, with chalk upon the floor, a map of the country between the Shawanese towns and the Mississippi. Recognizing the voice of his son, he arose, went out, and answered him. When El-i-nip-si-co landed, the father and son embraced each other in the most tender and affectionate manner.

The next day a council was held, at which Cornstalk was present. His countenance was dejected, as if he had some terrible presentiment of evil. He made a speech which indicated an honest and manly disposition. He frankly acknowledged that he expected that he and his party would have to run with the stream—an expressive phrase he was wont to utter; for, he said, all the Indians on the Lakes and northwardly were taking up the hatchet for the British. He adverted to his efforts, in the interest of peace, both before and after the battle of Point Pleasant. At the conclusion of every sentence, he would sadly repeat this expression: "When I was young, and went to war, I thought that each expedition might prove the last, and I would return no more. Now I am here amongst you; you may kill me if you please; I can die but once; and it is all one to me, now or another time." This repeated declaration seemed, in the light of subsequent events, almost a revelation of his impending fate.

Within an hour of the conclusion of the council, Ensign Robert Gilmore, of Captain John Hall's company of Rockbridge men, designed to take part in Hand's expedition—one of the Gil-

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<sup>15</sup> John P. Campbell, in the Port Folio, June. 1816

more connections who suffered so severely in the Carr's Creek Massacre by Cornstalk's party in 1759 and 1763—together with a man named Hamilton, struggled over the Kenawha to hunt. Soon after crossing the river, they separated, and Gilmore was shot and scalped, within a short distance, by some of the Enemy concealed in the weeds and willows on the bank of the stream. Hamilton escaped. A party of Hall's men crossed over, and soon returned with the bleeding corpse of their late comrade. They had scarcely touched the shore, when they raised the retaliatory shout—"Let us kill the Indians in the fort!"

Hearing this ominous out-cry, the wife of Scoppathan, the interpreter, ran with all haste to the cabin where the hostages were, for whom, having once lived among them, she retained a kind regard, and informed them of Gilmore's death; that the soldiers charged the act upon Indians, who, they averred, must have come with El-i-nip-si-co the previous day, and the maddened white people were now coming to kill them, by way of retaliation. El-i-nip-si-co, trembling exceedingly with emotions of fear and terror, utterly denied that any of the enemy accompanied him, and declared that he knew nothing whatever of them. Cornstalk calmly encouraged him not to be afraid, for the Great Spirit has sent him there to die with him; and shamed him for showing a disposition to hide in the loft, that he had but once to die, and should die like a warrior. The Great Spirit, he added, knew better than they did when they ought to die; and as they had come there with good intentions, the Great Spirit would do good to them.

Unhappily none of the militia officers who had assembled there for Hand's expedition, save Captain Stuart, were present, at the moment, to aid Arbuckle in restraining the enraged men, and they were powerless for good. Headed by their Captain, the infuriated soldiers rushed, with rifles in hand, for their devoted victim—stopping only a moment, when appealed to by Captains Arbuckle and Stuart, cocking their guns, and threatening them with instant death, if they interposed to save the Indians. As they reached the cabin door, Cornstalk rose up and met them, baring his breast, and remarking, "if any Big Knife has anything against me, let him now avenge himself;" when a volley was

fired, seven or eight balls passing through his body. He fell lifeless upon the floor. El-i-nip-si-co was shot dead, as he sat upon a stool, awaiting his inexorable fate. The Red Hawk's son, who attempted to climb up the chimney, was pulled down and shot; while the other Indian—Old Yie,—was shamefully mangled, and was long in the agonies of death.<sup>16</sup>

Thus fell the great and noble Cornstalk—"whose name was bestowed upon him by the consent of the nation, as their great strength and support."<sup>17</sup> It was a sad and sickening tragedy—one of those frenzied acts that occasionally grow out of the frequent contact of impulsive men with the unnatural scenes of war and its consequent desolations.

Eight days after this tragic event, General Hand arrived at Point Pleasant, and was much concerned to learn of the unhappy occurrence. Though the officers united in expressing the greatest abhorrence of the deed, yet he was convinced, from the actions of the soldiers, that it would be in vain for him to try to bring the perpetrators to justice—so he wrote to Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia; but suggested that Colonels Dickinson and Skillern, who were present, knew the most active of the participants. Governor Henry's letters, at the time, evinced the strongest determination that the offenders should be brought before the courts, on their return home, and the guilty punished. It was not only a flagrant crime against humanity, but one highly detrimental to public policy. The few troops assembled at Point Pleasant, altogether too inadequate for the contemplated expedition, were discharged; and, arriving in Rockbridge, some of the ring leaders fled the country to avoid prosecution, and none were ever brought to justice.

"From this event," wrote General Hand, "we have little reason to expect a reconciliation with the Shawanese, except fear

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<sup>16</sup> A rude versifier of that day commemorated the tragedy, in language more truthful than poetic:

Cornstalk, the Shawanees' greatest boast,  
Old Yie, by whom much blood was lost,  
Red Hawk and El-i-nip-si-co,  
Lie dead beside the Ohio.

<sup>17</sup> Stuart's Indian Wars, 61.

operates on them; for, if we had any friends among them, those unfortunate wretches were so; Cornstalk particularly appearing to be the most active of the nation in promoting peace."<sup>18</sup> The Indians, in this instance, were at a loss to determine on whom the blame should be laid; whether on the perpetrators of the act or on their superiors for not using their authority in preventing it; and their accusations against the white people at Point Pleasant were the more severe, since they knew the friendly disposition of their chief toward them, and the important errand on which he was engaged at the time.<sup>19</sup>

In all the long line of Shawanese chiefs, the one in whom was most blended the sterling qualities of bravery, eloquence, wisdom and justice, was unquestionably Keigh-tugh-qua—the Cornstalk. His noble personal appearance, as well as his many brave and manly acts, combine to constitute him one of the most remarkable men savage life has yet produced. In 1774, when his nation rushed headlong into war, in opposition to his vehement protestations, he nevertheless risked his life in leading them into battle, and, by his powerful personal presence, kept them hotly engaged the whole day; and, in 1777, when they again resolved on hostilities, against his strong admonitions, he made the mission of peace and good will to Point Pleasant, pleading in their behalf, and sealing his devotion to his people by the sacrifice of life itself. Such a man was truly a hero and a patriot, though not educated in the schools, nor trained in military academies. Whoever visits his grave, yet pointed out at Point Pleasant, may worthily drop a tear to his memory.

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<sup>18</sup> Hand to Richard Peters, Sec. of Board of War, Dec. 24, 1777.

<sup>19</sup> MS. letters of Hand to Patrick Henry, Dec. 9th, and to Richard Peters, Dec. 24th, 1777. MS. Deposition of John Anderson, Wm. Ward, and Richard Thomas, relative to the murder of Cornstalk and companions Nov. 10th, 1777. MS. Fleming and Preston Papers, Murphy's Collections. Stuart's Indian Wars, 59-61. Campbell's MS. Memoir. Heckewelder's Narrative, 150, 151.

## INDIANS IN UNION COUNTY.

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BY COLONEL W. L. CURRY.

In 1797, before a white settler had found a home in the tract of country now forming the county of Union, a town was laid out on a large scale in what is now Darby Township, on the south side of Big Darby Creek, by Lucas Sullivant, who named it North Liberty. Doubtless Mr. Sullivant expected his town would at some not distant day be a busy metropolis, but he ruined its prospects by laying out in August of the same year (1797), the town of Franklinton, on the west side of the Scioto River, opposite the subsequent site of Columbus.

The honor of being the first settlers in the county is awarded to James and Joshua Ewing, and it is said that Mr. Sullivant induced them to locate at North Liberty in order to begin the settlement at that place, and if such was the fact, which is probable, it must have been as late as the fall of 1797 or the spring of 1798. The latter year is given by the best authority as the date of their arrival.

Union County was then included in the territory comprising Ross County, of which Chillicothe was the seat of justice.

At the time the earliest settlers took possession of their farms in this region, Indians were numerous. They lived farther north and only descended to Big Darby to engage in hunting and fishing. They encamped here and often remained for several months at a time. The site of North Liberty was one of their favorite tenting grounds. When the war of 1812 opened, apprehensions of trouble with these Indians were entertained, but they remained friendly and no hostilities or difficulties arose to mar their peaceful relations. Some of the rougher class of settlers were on intimate terms with the Indians and would go to their camps and join in the convivial feasts that were held there. The children of the earliest pioneer were for a time in mortal dread of

them, and it required a long time before they could become accustomed to their presence.

James Robinson had one of the earliest orchards in the vicinity, and after the trees approached the age of bearing, he was greatly annoyed by the birds that had a strong liking for his choice fruit and manifested the design of indulging their appetite before it was ripe enough to pluck. Some Indian lads, belonging to several families encamped near by, were very expert in shooting birds with their small bows and arrows, and Mr. Robinson agreed with them, by means of signs, that for each bird they would shoot in the orchard he would give an apple. It happened that the following day was Sunday, and as Mr. Robinson, who was a devout and God-fearing Presbyterian, was engaged in the usual morning prayers, the Indian lads rushed in with a bird they had killed. The conscientious pioneer could not tolerate the idea of profaning the Sabbath by this unhallowed sport and by shaking his head and gesticulating, intimated to them that they must not engage in it that day. They departed highly incensed, thinking he had withdrawn from his agreement, and after the old folks had gone to church that day the Indian youths amused themselves by pointing their weapons at the children left at home, who fled to the house for protection and remained within with bolted doors till their parents return.

When the troubles of 1812 had commenced, it was several times rumored that the Indians had taken up arms and were preparing to make a raid upon the settlement. Many families, panic-stricken, deserted their homes and fled farther south. At one time, a party of settlers, including Moses Mitchell, then a lad of sixteen years, fearlessly marched to the Indian villages far to the north to ascertain if they had concluded to put on the war paint and make the rumored attack. They found the Indians sitting in council, but with no hostile intent. The band of whites remained with them all night, then returned to their friends and quieted their fears. Game of various kinds abounded in the forests for many years after the work of clearing and tilling farms began. A favorite mode of hunting deer was the following: In the low country along Big Darby, mosquitoes were as great a pest to beast as to man, and in warm weather, to escape

them, the deer descended into the water after nightfall, and remained there for hours at a time with only the nose above the water. The hunter approached in a canoe, a torch or candle fastened to his hat and by bark so placed as to light up the surrounding gloom but conceal himself and his canoe from sight. He thus approached within a few feet of the deer, dazed by the light, and easily killed it.

On the north, south, east and west were yet to be seen the rude wigwams of the dusky race that theretofore had held undisputed possession of this game-abounding country. Their numbers, for many years, greatly exceeded that of the whites, and their presence was at least novel to the settlers, if not dread-inspiring. Many of the young children of the first comers could not conquer a shrinking horror in their sight, for the Indian name was to them, by oft-repeated tales, too intimately associated with dreadful massacres to permit them to overcome their fear of them. The Indians, observing this, would delight in brandishing their knives and frightening the boys and girls, who would always run in terror from them. The principal haunt of the red men, before they were disturbed by the pioneers, was on the banks of Big Darby, just northwest from Plain City. They dwelt here in considerable numbers about the year 1800, in wigwams built of bark and covered with brush. Their chief subsistence was game, although the squaws cultivated small patches of corn. This latter commodity, however, when desired by the Indians, after the advent of the pioneers, was usually obtained by begging, or in exchange for products of the chase. On the old Kent farm, on Sugar Run, was a sugar camp, where the Indians for many years engaged in the manufacture of delicious syrup for their own consumption. They hacked the trees with their tomahawks and inserted split spiles, caught the flowing sap in hewed out troughs and boiled it down in kettles of iron or copper. Parties from Chillicothe were wont to meet them here, and barter for large quantities of raccoon skins and furs.

Amicable relations were generally maintained with the Indians, who seldom gave cause for difficulties. These, however, would occasionally occur. Daniel Taylor, who was one of the foremost pioneers, brought with him a mare and colt. A party

of Indians were once visiting at his house, and one of them espied and greatly admired the mare; he wished to buy her, but Taylor was unwilling to make the sale, as it would break his team, and another horse could not be procured nearer than Chillicothe. Jonathan Alder, who was present, and observed the Indian's eagerness, advised Mr. Taylor to sell "the critter," but this he would not consent to do. Not many days later the horse was stolen and never recovered, and the trip to Chillicothe Mr. Taylor was obliged to make on foot.

James Ewing brought the first sheep to this county. He kept them confined within a high inclosure, through fear of the wolves. Several Indians, who had been hunting, called at his cabin soon after. Their dogs jumped over the fence and attacked the sheep. Mr. Ewing, in his anger, seized his rifle and shot one of the dogs. This act enraged the Indians, and a breach of the friendship between them and Mr. Ewing was imminent. Jonathan Alder was present and interposed. His efforts at peace-making at length restored good feeling.

Jonathan Alder, who was captured by the Indians and believed his life was spared because his hair was dark and because he smiled at the savage who had raised his tomahawk to kill him, lived within the bounds of Union County at the time he abandoned his Indian life and returned to his home. With other Indian braves, he dwelt on the west banks of Big Darby just above Plain City.

His cabin stood on the high bank above the grist mill. When he came to this place is unknown, but he was living there with his squaw wife when the first settlers arrived. Until 1795, when the Indian treaty restored peace, he was engaged with his Indian comrades in various depredations and hostile excursions and it was probably very soon after this that he settled on Darby. As the pioneers arrived, he mingled with them and relearned the English language, which he had almost forgotten. His squaw cultivated a little patch of corn in the bottoms and Jonathan dealt to some extent in stock. The land he occupied belonged to the tract Daniel Taylor had purchased, and, when the latter arrived about 1803, Jonathan kindly surrendered to him the cabin he had built and occupied, and with his squaw built and removed to

a bark hut close by. His association with white men created a strong desire to follow their habits and abandon his Indian life. His squaw still clung to Indian ways and their diverging tastes became more and more marked. Jonathan no longer went with his Indian brethren on their "big hunts." From a settler, he received the information that his mother was still living, and he resolved to return to her. Richard Taylor made him a suit of clothes which he donned in place of his Indian garments. He told his squaw his intention and they divided their effects. The wild life he had led had not wholly obliterated the instincts to accumulate, for he had saved a few hundred silver dollars, and had besides a number of ponies. The former he gave his wife after some parleying and also equally divided the latter with her. He bade her adieu; she went northward to her own people and he turned his face toward Virginia, the State of his birth and boyhood. This was in 1805.

His squaw wife had separated from him unwillingly, for in spite of his proclivities for the fashions of the pale face, she was deeply attached to him. It is said she had threatened to kill his wife should he ever marry again, and that he feared her on this account. For some time after his return, he would not permit his wife to remain alone in their cabin. When he went to the fields to work, she must accompany him. On their return one day from a trading expedition to a neighboring town, they found the tinware bent and cut, the iron ware broken in pieces by an ax and Mrs. Alder's dresses slashed and cut in shreds. Though the squaw was not seen, the mischief was attributed to her hands. Mr. Alder's long life with the red men had bred in him Indian traits and manners, which clung to him through life. Though he possessed good business talent, he disliked hard work, and confined his farm labors principally to stock-raising. He was dark hued and bore some resemblance to the Indian race. He was a large, tall man and could move about almost noiselessly. While living in Union County he was the friend of the white men, and when occasion offered acted as peacemaker between them and the Indians. Mr. Alder related the following hunting incident which occurred while camping on Darby, in Union County: "One day about noon I saw a large bear in the top of a big, white oak

trée, picking off and eating acorns. I sat down on the ground about one hundred yards off to watch its motions. I did not wish to kill it, as bears were not yet fat, and fur was not yet good, or rather not of full growth. I sat there amusing myself with its motions for some time. It was really funny to see it get about in the very top branches, while the whole tree shook with its enormous weight at every motion. All at once it ceased to gather in the branches and slid down and commenced picking the acorns that had fallen to the ground. In a few moments, without the least warning, it started in the direction I was, as rapidly as it could pace. I had my gun resting in my lap and saw it would run right over me. I had no time to get up and get out of its way, so I raised my gun and fired as soon as possible, when it was within a few yards of me. I shot it through the brain and it fell right across my lap. I was badly scared, for I did not know that I had killed it. I kicked and struggled to get from beneath it, but it was so heavy that it took some time before I could get out. I had shot it so dead that it never kicked, but laid like a log upon me, all of which, had I not been so frightened, I might have observed. When I finally got out, I was so much exhausted from the fright and effort I could hardly stand."

A company was organized at Plain City, during the summer of 1812 or 1813, of which Jonathan Alder was elected Captain and Frederick Loyd First Lieutenant. They were directed to march north toward the lakes about twenty miles beyond the settlements of Darby, and erect a block-house for the protection of the settlements. They marched to the banks of Mill Creek, and after working three or four days a block-house was completed. Mr. Alder says: "There were seventy in all, and one Daniel Watkins was made Colonel and Commander in Chief."

They only remained at the block-house a few weeks. There being a false alarm, it was not possible to keep the men from returning to the settlements. This block-house was situated on the west bank of Mill Creek, about three miles northwest from Marysville on the farm now owned by Edward Powers. Some of the stones used either for the foundation or to strengthen the

walls of the block-house may yet be seen directly east from Mr. Powers' house, a few rods from the banks of the creek.

Thomas Kilgore, who died at the residence of his son, Simeon Kilgore, in Mill Creek Township, a few years ago, was a member of the company that erected this fort, and was the last one left of the company.

So far as can be learned, this is the only fort ever erected within the borders of this county.

During the war of 1812 there was scarcely an able-bodied man left in the settlement along Darby Creek and Sugar Run, and their families were in constant fear of being massacred by the Indians.

In 1812-13 Col. James Curry, a soldier of the revolutionary war, was called to Delaware to assist in organizing a regiment of soldiers in which his oldest son, James A. Curry, was a Captain, leaving his wife with several small children, the oldest of which was but eleven years of age, in the cabin on the banks of Sugar Run, with no neighbor nearer than John Kent and family, one mile distant through the dense forest. One day, during Col. Curry's absence, the horses were attacked by the wolves, and stampeded with such a noise as to make Mrs. Curry believe the Indians were going to attack their home. Young Stephenson, then but a boy of eleven years, but with the coolness of an old backwoodsman, took down the two rifles, and, loading one, placed his younger brother, Otway, as a sentinel at the fence, in rear of the cabin, and while he attempted to load the other, the charge became fastened in the barrel. The two boys stood on guard for some time, ready to meet the invasion of the red skins. When night came on, they, with their mother, went to John Kent's house and spent the night. The next morning, on their return with some of the neighbors, they found that the wolves had attacked the horses, badly injuring one of them, but that no Indians, or traces of them, were to be found. One of the old, flint-lock rifles used on this occasion is still in possession of W. L. Curry, son of Stephenson Curry.

Otway Curry became a noted writer and poet and, associated with Wm. D. Gallaher, edited and published "The Hesperian of

the West" prior to the year 1840, which was the first literary magazine published in Columbus.

Sugar Run Falls, on the lands of Col. James Curry, was, in the early days, a beautiful and attractive place. The stream wound its way through a little valley, shaded by burr oaks and black walnut timber, and, surrounded as it was by good hunting and fishing grounds, it was a favorite place for the Indians in the early years of the last century. The old Indian trace, leading from the Wyandot nation south, ran past the Falls, and the Indians continued to travel this route after there was quite a settlement along Sugar Run.

The last Indians who visited this vicinity came about the year 1816-17. In the early spring, four Indians came from the North, and encamped at the Falls for a few days. They visited Col. Curry's house, and, as usual, were supplied from his table, as he was well known to all the Indians passing along this route, and he was one in whom they had great confidence. When they left the Falls they separated, two following the old trail and two traveling in a southwesterly direction. In a few weeks, two of them again reached the Falls, and had with them an Indian pony. They remained a day or two, and their two companions not arriving (it is supposed this was to be their place of meeting), they then stripped the bark from a burr oak tree, and, taking yellow keel, which was in great abundance along the stream, traced on the trunk of the tree in rude characters, an Indian leading a pony, while another Indian was in the rear with a gun on his shoulder and the ramrod in his hand, as if in the act of driving the pony, traveling northward. This done, they covered their camp fire and took the old Indian trail north. A few evenings after their departure, their two comrades arrived from the south, and, learning by the drawings on the tree that their companions had preceded them, they remained over night and the next morning took the trace and moved rapidly north. And thus the last Indians ever seen on the southern border of Union County took their departure from their once happy hunting grounds.

A few traces of the pre-historic race still remain, but they are becoming fainter every year. In the valley of Big Darby are two small mounds, both of which are sepulchral. One of them

is on Zachariah Noteman's farm, north of his residence. It is about thirty feet in diameter, and by repeated plowings has been greatly reduced in height. A few years ago it was excavated. Two kinds of earth were observed, and ashes and charcoal were found. Six or seven human skeletons were exhumed, one of which was of remarkable size. The other mound is farther up the stream, north of it, on the old Ewing farm, situated probably twenty rods from the creek. It, too, was excavated some time since, and human bones were discovered.

Human skeletons have been found in many of the gravel beds that abound along the streams of the township. They are supposed to have been the remains of the Indians who frequented the country. It was not uncommon for the earliest pioneers to find silver brooches. They were of various sizes, either round or heart-shaped, and had evidently been worn by the Indians. Some were several inches in diameter, and handsomely wrought, but they have all been carried away by the curiosity seeker. Flints, stone weapons and the badges of the Mound-Builders, have frequently been found in some localities.



## SOME HISTORY FROM AN UN-HISTORICAL REGION.

BY A. B. GILLILAND.

The title may sound somewhat paradoxical, but there are regions, which, owing to their geographical location, have had so very little to do with the making of history, that they are spoken of as of no historical importance, yet may not be devoid of historical occurrences that may be of some interest. Such Van Wert County may be said to be, situated in the northwest part of Ohio, away from the regions where the important events in the history of the state occurred.

The county has, however, a few noticeable features. One that always attracts the attention of the stranger is the Ridge running almost due east and west through the eastern part of the county to the city of Van Wert, where it changes its direction to one of north of west, and south of east, and extends to Fort Wayne, Indiana. It can easily be traced from Seneca County, through Wyandot, Hancock, and Putnam counties, to Van Wert, and Fort Wayne, where it passes around to the north of the Maumee river, thence it runs nearly parallel to the river, varying from one to ten miles from its banks, until it is lost in the sandy plains nearly north of Napoleon, Henry County. By some it is considered to have been at one time the limiting line of Lake Erie. The fact that it is highest near the south side of the ridge seems to support this theory.

The Ridge is composed of gravel and sand, and contains various small shells, which show its fresh water origin, and that it was not formed by glacial action. It varies from a few feet to eight or ten feet higher than the land lying on either side of it. Its base averages a half mile in width.

Along the crest of the ridge is the Ridge Road, the main thorough-fare through the county east and west. Owing to the natural drainage afforded by it, the early settlers soon recognized its value, and it became a trail, then a road. That part of the

road from Van Wert to Fort Wayne was cut through by my grandfather and two of his brothers. Over this road many moving from the east to Indiana and Illinois, before the construction of railroads, passed in their quest for new homes.

The fore-runners of the white man also recognized the value of this ridge as a well drained region for their homes, as shown by the many indications that they had several villages along its crest. At a number of places on this ridge, men, when digging for sand or gravel, have found graves, probably of Indians. Many stone implements, and the head of a sand-stone image, resembling a gopher's head, have been found along the ridge. The sand-stone image, evidently, came from a great distance, as no sand-stone is to be found in this region.

The Indians may have taken advantage of the ridge, as a trail, when passing from Ohio to Indiana.

To the east of the county the Big or Grand Auglaize river flows northward, along which the Indians traveled on their migrations between the lakes of the north and the Ohio. There is a short portage between the sources of the Auglaize, the Wabash, and the Miami rivers. On the south, crossing the southwest corner of the county, on its way to join the St. Joseph at Fort Wayne, to form the Maumee, flows the St. Marys river. On the north flows the Maumee, at one time called the Miami of the Lake. These rivers were the favorite routes of the Indians on their migrations, and were also the routes followed by General "Mad" Anthony Wayne on his expedition against the Indians. In 1794 he came from Greenville, by the way of Fort Recovery, to Fort Adams, near the St. Marys river in Mercer county. His route was then north-eastward through Van Wert county to the confluence of the Grand Auglaize and the Maumee rivers, where he built Fort Defiance. After his victories over the Indians he marched his troops up the Maumee to Fort Wayne, from there he followed closely the St. Marys river to Girty's town, now the city of St. Marys, from thence he found a direct route to Greenville.

Early settlers were able to recognize, easily, the trail General Wayne followed through the county. It was especially plain

along the ridge east of Van Wert. The route through Van Wert county was chosen by General Wayne to deceive and surprise the Indians, who expected him to follow either the western route by the way of Fort Wayne, by which he returned, or the eastern route down the Grand Auglaize river, the middle route completely surprised them.

Tradition says that on this march, one of the horses pulling one of the artillery pieces, died, which compelled General Wayne to abandon the cannon, and that it was buried deep in the ground somewhere in the north part of the county to keep it from falling into the hands of the enemy. Lieutenant Boyer, one of Wayne's officers, says nothing of this incident in his journal of the march.

A few years ago some boys while fishing on the banks of the Little Auglaize, which flows through this county to the west of the Big Auglaize, of which it is a branch, found a number of small cannon balls, heaped up in a pyramidal pile. All were much rusted. Can they have been abandoned by General Wayne? It seems probable that General Wayne on his four days' march of forty-four miles from Fort St. Marys (Fort Adams) to the Grand Auglaize, in crossing Van Wert county, followed for a time the Little Auglaize, and may have left behind some cannon balls, and these may have been the ones lost.

Owing to this peculiar geographical position, the region being bounded by the rivers, was the peaceful and happy hunting grounds of the Indians. History and tradition informs us that many Indians kept their families within this region, making it their permanent home, feeling that their dear ones were secure from marauding parties of the Indian and of the white races, who would follow the usual easy routes, the rivers.

When the early white settlers took up their homes in this county they found many Indians in this secluded region. Within the city limits of Van Wert have been found many fragments of sunbaked clay vessels, many of which can still be found in favorable places.

About sixty years ago, there was dug up on the residence lot situated just north of the Public Library, in Van Wert, about a half bushel of bullets that seemed to be made of some other

metal, in addition to lead, which made them so hard that they ruined the bores of the guns of the early settlers who tried to use them.

On the same lot, many years ago, some workmen, while making an excavation, came upon a piece of bark sixteen feet square, cut from a walnut tree, and buried several feet below the surface on the rising ground some distance east of the banks of the creek that flows through the center of the city. Removing the bark, a fine spring of water was found. The writer has, in his boyhood days, enjoyed drinking of its pure water. This spring continued to flow until extensive sewerage drained its source. Evidently the Indians had covered up the spring to prevent those who drove them out from enjoying the sparkling water that flowed from it.

Along the ridge bordering the banks of the creek were deep worn trails made by the Indians.

Two mounds are known to have been in the county. One was evidently erected by the Indians, as evidenced by the contents. Some fifty years ago it was opened and found to contain a human skull, the two femur bones, a few smaller bones, a gun barrel, a copper kettle of about a gallon capacity, a few flint arrow heads, stone tomahawks, a steel tomahawk, the bowl of which was hollowed out for use as a pipe, and a few pieces of silver ornaments. The other mound stood where the Hotel Marsh now is in Van Wert. There is no information as to what it contained, if anything.

The county was covered with large timber, oak, ash, hickory, beech, and elm predominating. This made it an ideal hunting ground for the Indians and their immediate successors, the early white settlers. The region to the north of the city of Van Wert was at one time called the "Black Bear Swamp," by others, the "Hoop-pole region." The latter name was given to it owing to the fact that many hoop-poles were cut from the hickory thickets. This heavily wooded region was, some thirty years and more ago, the favorite *rendezvous* for horse thieves, who stole horses in the region to the southeast, towards Columbus, and drove them to these woods where they were easily concealed. As there were no paths through the woods it was practically impossible to follow

them. After those in pursuit had dropped the trail, and the excitement attending the loss and hunting had subsided, the horses were driven to Indiana and sold.

A strange duel occurred in the eastern part of the county about seventy years ago that illustrates Indian characteristics. Two Indian braves were in love with the same Indian maiden. As she would not make a choice, it was decided to settle the affair, as to who should have her, by a duel "to the death." The Indians repaired to a place on the farm in Ridge Township long known as the "Billy" Martin farm, on the bluff along the creek. An Indian blanket was placed on the ground, the left hand of each duelist was tied behind him, a sharp knife was placed in the right hand of each. They then crouched down on the blanket, which they were not to leave during the duel. The tribe assembled about them with the maiden in the foreground. Round and round the duelists moved on the blanket, first one then the other inflicting severe wounds. Thus the fight kept up until both were covered with wounds, but there was no cessation until both succumbed to their injuries. Their bodies were buried on the spot where they had fought and died. Over the grave was built a log pen about twelve feet long, north and south, eight feet wide, east and west, and four feet high. Upward from the south end stood a staff, like a flag pole, about ten feet high and five inches in diameter. This was at the head of the grave. Near the center of the north and south walls of the pen, and about half way up, were cut, opposite to each other, round holes, one-half being notched out of the log above, the other half out of the log below. The Indians said the holes were to let the spirits of the dead duelists out. Until the Indians left this region they annually, on the anniversary of the duel, came to the hut and painted the flag pole and the two holes red.

From the foregoing it will be seen that regions that are often considered as of little importance, historically, may yet have had events of interest, if we but look around us.

Van Wert, Ohio.

## OHIO IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

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BY DANIEL J. RYAN.

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The office of Governor did not prove attractive to Mr. Corwin. It afforded no opportunity to display either his talents or abilities. In those days it was a position more of dignity than of power. He used to say that his principal duties were "appointing notaries public and pardoning convicts in the penitentiary." The salary was fifteen hundred dollars a year, and the Governors of Ohio spent very little time in Columbus. The majority of Corwin's predecessors had been farmers, and they only came up to the capital at rare periods, and these were between seed time and harvest. As he was a lawyer of extensive practice, he spent most of his time in the practice of his profession at Lebanon.

Addison P. Russell, who was formerly Secretary of State of Ohio (1858-1862), and who still lives in a dignified old age at Wilmington, Ohio, has written a delightful monograph ("Thomas Corwin. A Sketch." Cincinnati, 1881), which is a neighbor's tribute to, and an analysis of, Corwin's character and life. In passing it may be noted also that his "Library Notes," 1879; "Characteristics," 1884; "A Club of One," 1887; "In a Club Corner," 1890, and "Sub-Coelum," 1893, are among the most charming essays in American literature, and have won the love of all readers of the good and beautiful in modern letters.

But to the subject—of Governor Corwin he writes: "During the two years Mr. Corwin was Governor, he was proverbially in the best of humor. All the time he could get from public duties was spent at his home in Lebanon. He seemed

running over with fun and anecdotes, and he never lacked appreciative listeners when he wished to talk. Very busy people avoided him as a dangerous temptation. Young men especially gathered about him with big eyes of wonder. They had no envies or jealousies to prevent them from admiring him. To them he discoursed with the utmost freedom. With them, when his mind was fullest and freest, he indulged without limit in monologues. He was fond of young men; especially those who were inclined to improve themselves and who seemed to be promising."

In 1842 he was renominated, but his old opponent, Wilson Shannon, defeated him by the small plurality of 3,893. The anti-slavery sentiment was just beginning to develop in Ohio, and consolidated under the name of the "Liberty Party" this element nominated as their candidate Leicester King. His strength at the polls was drawn largely from the Whigs, and consequently, weakened Corwin. King polled 5,312 votes and Governor Corwin was defeated. He never again figured in State politics, but, out of this defeat came a calling to the higher plane of National public life.

In 1844, he was elected by the Ohio Legislature as United States Senator for six years from March 4, 1845. He commenced his Senatorial career in an exciting time, and he brought to his service a national reputation as one of the most influential Whigs of his day. He was confessedly the most famous and the most popular orator in the country. He stood abreast with his party in the growing sentiment against slavery, and was opposed to the annexation of Texas and a war with Mexico. It was by his speech in connection with the latter event that he impressed himself on the annals of Senatorial oratory, and became forever associated with the Mexican War.

The war with Mexico was declared May 13, 1846. Hostilities had been commenced by the Mexicans before this. They had crossed over to the east bank of the Rio Grande, and on May 8th gave battle to General Taylor's forces at Palo Alto. When President Polk learned these facts, he sent a special message to Congress, May 11th, saying: "Now, after reiterated menaces Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States,

has invaded our territory and shed American blood on American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war. As war exists, and, notwithstanding our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself, we are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of our country." The President's request for men and money to carry on the war was promptly and favorably responded to by Congress which the next day passed a bill with only sixteen votes dissenting declaring, that, "by the acts of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between the United States and that Republic." The President was authorized to call for the services of 50,000 volunteers and ten million dollars was given him as "sinews of war." So the war with Mexico commenced.

It was not popular at first, but eventually became so for the reason that all wars with foreign nations are popular. Nevertheless, the Whigs opposed it on the grounds that it was unrighteous and in the interest of the extension of slavery. This sentiment was so strong in Ohio that the war was not generally supported. The Whigs of this State felt that the annexation of Texas, which preceded the war, was a deliberate and concocted scheme for perpetuating slavery. Hence there was not a widespread war spirit in Ohio, nor, in fact, throughout the North. In the South, though, the enthusiasm was great and unconfined. There was difficulty in suppressing recruiting in the Southern States, and fears were expressed that enough whites would not remain at home to take charge of the slaves. The usual advertisements calling for recruits were headed: "Ho! for the Halls of the Montzemas!" but on Whig ears these appeals fell flat, and they gave little response in soldiers or enthusiasm.

On the other hand, it is also true, as was claimed by the Democrats, that there had been a systematic and long continued course of faithlessness, falsehood and insolence on the part of Mexico toward our Government. She was guilty of aggravating wrongs, refused to adjust rightful claims, declined to arbitrate subjects of difference, and, to cap the climax, she had invaded our soil and murdered our citizens. The test of history justifies

the Mexican War. The objection of the Whigs that it was waged to acquire additional slave territory has been answered by "manifest destiny." In all the territory acquired from Mexico through this war under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and a part of New Mexico—slavery never existed.

In response to the first call of President Polk for three regiments from Ohio, Governor Bartley issued his proclamation May 20, 1846, appealing to the courage and patriotism of the State to render promptly the required aid. Samuel R. Curtis, Adjutant General of the State, established a general rendezvous at Camp Washington, near Cincinnati, to which point all companies were ordered to proceed as soon as organized.

That there was a sustaining war sentiment in Ohio is evidenced by the fact that in less than two weeks after the President's requisition was received, three thousand Ohioans were marching toward the rendezvous. Before June forty companies were in their tents at Camp Washington. During this month companies assembled here from all over the State; indeed more appeared than necessary to fill the quota, and these, with much clamor and dissatisfaction were turned homeward. The thirty companies in camp were ordered by Governor Bartley to be organized into three regiments, and these after being reviewed by General Wool, who was on his way to Mexico, were mustered into the service of the United States for one year.

The recruiting of volunteers was kept up until the Ohio military forces for the war were organized into five infantry regiments, fifteen independent companies of infantry, five companies for the Fifth United States Infantry, and one company of United States Mounted Riflemen. There were about seven thousand officers and men in the Mexican War from Ohio in the army, not including the navy, and these constituted about one-eighth of the entire land forces.

The part that Ohio played in this conflict has been largely overlooked from the fact that the great Civil War of 1861 so overshadowed it in importance that little has been written or preserved in the way of general literature concerning it. It is proposed here to give a detailed history of each of the regiments

engaged in Mexico from Ohio. It will show that the State performed its duty in this conflict with the same vital earnestness that it has whenever the Union called upon it for assistance.

The data following has been collated from the official records of the office of the Adjutant General of Ohio.

The First Regiment of the Ohio Volunteer Infantry was organized at Camp Washington, June 23, 1846, and was transferred by the Governor of Ohio to the Service of the United States, and accepted by General Wool on that date. The officers of the Regiment were Colonel Alexander M. Mitchell, Lieutenant Colonel John B. Weller, and Major Thomas L. Hamer. Major Hamer was promoted to Brigadier General, and Luther Giddings became major of the regiment. This regiment was recruited principally from Southern Ohio. Its captains and where recruited were as follows:

Robert N. Moore (A), Cincinnati.

Luther Giddings (B), Dayton.

Lewis Hornell (C), Cincinnati.

Edward Hamilton (D), Portsmouth.

John B. Armstrong (E), Cincinnati.

Edward D. Bradley (F), Lower Sandusky.

Sanders W. Johnson (G), Cincinnati.

Philip Muller (H), Cincinnati.

James George (I), Cincinnati.

William H. Ramsey (K), Cincinnati.

This regiment reached Mexico in July and arrived before Monterey on the 19th of August. Under General Taylor it entered the town under a heavy fire from the enemy. This was its baptism of blood, and right bravely did the regiment conduct itself. Colonel Mitchell and Adjutant Armstrong were wounded and Lieutenant Matthew was killed. Gen. Thomas L. Hamer wrote to Governor Bartley of the gallant conduct of this regiment at the battle of Monterey, September 21, 1846, as follows:

"I wish you could have been present and seen your First Regiment in the battle of Monterey. I am sure you would have been proud of them. They walked into the most galling and murderous cross-fires of the enemy with the coolness of old

regular soldiers—not a man nor an officer flinching. They formed and fired upon the enemy with steadiness and obeyed every order promptly.

"They received great credit from every officer of the Army who saw them. I regret exceedingly that our other two regiments were not with us as I have the same confidence in them as in the First. If the war goes on—we shall all be in it before long—and you who are at home need have no fear of our troops sustaining the honor of Ohio.

"We have now an armistice of eight weeks—and when that closes we shall probably go at it again on a larger scale.

"We are bringing up reinforcements and heavy battering cannon.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"Th. L. HAMER, *Brig. Gen., U. S. A.*

*"His Excellency, M. BARTLEY,*

"Columbus, Ohio."

It participated in various engagements after this. The principal one of which was that at Cerlvo, March 7, 1847. Its record is that of faithful performance of hazardous duties, until it was mustered out of service June 15, 1847. Its loss during its brief term of service was twenty-four killed and forty-two died of disease.

The Second Regiment was organized at the rendezvous, Camp Washington, June 22, 1846. George W. Morgan of Mt. Vernon was its Colonel, William Irvin, Lieutenant Colonel, and William Wall, Major. The companies composing the regiment with their officers and places of recruitment were as follows:

Hobby Reynolds (A), Chillicothe.

Simon B. Kenton (B), Mt. Vernon.

David Irick (C), Hillsboro.

Simon B. Tucker (D), Logan.

Robert G. McLean (E), Athens.

John F. Mickum (F), Columbus.

Evan Julian (G), Lancaster.

Richard Stadden (H), Newark.

Daniel Bruner (I), Circleville.

William A. Latham (K), Columbus.

July 9, 1846, the regiment left Cincinnati for Mexico and in about three weeks they reported to General Taylor who ordered Colonel Morgan and his command to garrison Camargo. With this place as headquarters the regiment did escort duty between Camargo and Monterey.

The service of the regiment in Mexico may be well judged by the following order of General Wool, issued at Buena Vista, May 16, 1847, prior to the mustering out of the regiment: "The General commanding cannot see the Ohio regiments separate from his command without expressing the entire satisfaction which their good discipline, orderly conduct, and fine military appearance have uniformly given him, and which causes him so deeply to regret that they are not to be with him in the future operations against Mexico."

"The Second and Third Regiments will return to their homes with the consciousness that they have done great credit to their State, rendered good service to their country, and that they bear with them the hearty good will and sincere admiration of the companies and commander."

This regiment fought at Aqua Fria and Buena Vista and had lost during its period of service six killed, two drowned and sixty died of disease.

It was mustered out of the United States service June 23, 1847, at New Orleans.

The Third Regiment organized at Camp Washington in June, 1846, had for its Colonel, Samuel R. Curtis, who was the Adjutant General of Ohio, and commandant of the post, Camp Washington.

George W. McCook was Lieutenant Colonel and John L. Love, Major.

The following is a list of the original captains showing their companies, by letter and where recruited:

William McLaughlin (A), Mansfield.

Jesse Meredith (B), Coshocton.

Thomas H. Ford (C), Mansfield.

John Patterson (D), St. Clairsville.

David Moore (E), Wooster.

James F. Chapman (F), Tiffin.

Asbury F. Noles (H), Zanesville.

John Kell, Jr. (I), Steubenville.

James Allen (K), Massillon.

In Mexico it was a part of General Taylor's "Army of the Rio Grande" and was engaged in active service in many skirmishes. It did much in the way of protecting wagon trains and escort duty, and was mustered out of the service June 24, 1847. During the year it was in Mexico its loss was sixty-four killed and died of disease.

The Fourth Ohio Infantry was organized at Cincinnati in June, 1847, with Colonel Charles H. Brough, Lieutenant Colonel Melchior Werner and Major William P. Young as Field Officers. Its original captains and places of recruitment were:

August Moor (A), Cincinnati.

Otto Zirckel (B), Columbus.

Samuel Thompson (C), Lower Sandusky.

George Weaver (D), Ganges.

Michael C. Lilly (E), Columbus.

George E. Pugh (F), Cincinnati.

Thomas L. Hart (G), Millersburg.

George A. Richmond (H), Cincinnati.

Josiah M. Robinson (I), Cincinnati.

This regiment left Cincinnati July 1, 1847, and landed at the mouth of the Rio Grande, marched to Matamoros and garrisoned that town until September 4, 1847, when it proceeded to Vera Cruz, arriving there eleven days later.

On October 12th the regiment entered Puebla to the rescue of Colonel Childs who held that city for twenty-eight days; October 19, 1847, the battle of Atlexco was fought, the Fourth Regiment participating in it with bravery and success.

During its year's service the regiment loss was four killed in battle, one died of wounds received in battle and seventy-one of disease. It was mustered out of service July 24, 1848, at Cincinnati.

After the return of the Second Regiment from Mexico the War Department authorized its Lieutenant Colonel, William Irvin, to effect a new organization. It was discovered that only a small portion of the old companies would re-enlist, and

accordingly a new regiment was created with William Irvin as Colonel. It was originally intended that the regiment should be known as the "Fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry"; but the records of the War Department at Washington and those of the Adjutant General at Columbus, show that it was mustered in and mustered out as "The Second Ohio Volunteer Infantry."

Its original captains and the locations of the companies were as follows:

- Nathan H. Miles (A), Cincinnati.
- Richard Stadden (B), Newark.
- John W. Lowe (C), Batavia.
- William A. Latham (D), Columbus.
- Joseph W. Filler (E), Somerset.
- William T. Ferguson (F), Lancaster.
- James E. Harle (G), Mt. Vernon.
- Joseph E. Smith (H), Circleville.
- John C. Hughes (I), Columbus.
- George F. McGinnis (K), Chillicothe.

The regiment was mustered into the service about September 1, 1847, and on September 10th it left Cincinnati on three steamboats for New Orleans. From thence it went to Vera Cruz where it arrived about October 4, 1847, and went into camp near that city. In October General Caleb Cushing ordered the regiment to march to the interior as an escort for one thousand wagons and two thousand pack mules loaded with ammunition, provisions and clothing bound for the City of Mexico. It was on duty in and about that city and Puebla. It was actively engaged until the war closed in numerous skirmishes with guerrillas in the mountainous districts.

Upon the declaration of peace this regiment returned to the United States by way of New Orleans, and from thence to Cincinnati where it was mustered out July 26, 1848.

The losses of this regiment were very large considering its brief service. Seventy-four men lost their lives in skirmishes with guerrilla bands and from disease.

In addition to the foregoing organizations there were fifteen independent companies each known by the name of its captain. These companies were as follows:

Duncan's (John R.), Independent Company of Mounted Volunteers. Was mustered in at Cincinnati, June 1, 1847, and mustered out, August 2, 1848. Had performed gallant service on the Rio Grande and in and about Ceralvo.

Dauble's (John G.), mustered in at Cincinnati, June 15, 1846, and mustered out there, December 7, 1846.

Churchill's (Frederick A.), mustered in at Cincinnati, June 15, 1846, and mustered out, October 14, 1846.

Kessler's (Herman), mustered in at Cincinnati, June 15, 1846, and mustered out there, October 17, 1846.

Durr's (George), mustered in at Cincinnati, June 15, 1846, and mustered out there, December 7, 1846.

Caldwell's (John), mustered in May, 1846, and mustered out at Bucyrus, October 26, 1846.

Donnell's (H. O.), mustered in at Cincinnati, June 15, 1846, and mustered out there, October 17, 1846.

Ward's (Thomas W.), mustered in June, 1846, and mustered out at Cincinnati, October 14, 1846.

Moor's (Augustus), mustered in at Cincinnati, June 15, 1846, and mustered out there, October 14, 1846.

Hawkin's (Joseph L.), mustered in at Cincinnati, June 15, 1846, and mustered out there, November 5, 1846.

Stout's (Atlas L.), mustered in June 5, 1846, and mustered out at Dayton, Ohio, November 4, 1846.

Link's (Francis), mustered in at Cincinnati, June 15, 1846, and mustered out there, October 14, 1846.

Love's (John S.), mustered in June 4, 1846, and mustered out at McConnelsville, Ohio, October 29, 1846.

Kenneally's (William), known as the "First Foot," made a good record in Mexico; it was mustered in at Cincinnati, October 5, 1847, and mustered out there, July 25, 1848.

Riddle's (Robert R.), known as the "Second Foot," was mustered in at Cincinnati, October 26, 1847, and mustered out there, July 17, 1848.

The United States Mounted Riflemen, under Captain Winslow F. Sanderson, was formed from the young men of Columbus, Norwalk and Wooster, in May, June and July of 1846. It is known on the roster as Company B which served in the

Mexican service at Vera Cruz and Puebla. It was mustered out at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, August 28, 1848.

The Fifteenth United States Infantry was organized in Ohio by authority of an Act of Congress, to serve during the war. Its field officers were, Col. George W. Morgan of Mt. Vernon, Lt. Col. Joshua Howard, and Majors Leslie H. McKenney and Frederick D. Mills; the latter was killed at San Antonio, Mexico, August 20, 1847. This regiment was organized during the months of April and May, 1847. It was composed of the following companies which with their captains and places of recruit are given:

David Chase (B), Toledo, Lower Sandusky and Defiance.

James A. Jones (C), Norwalk.

Edward A. King (D), Dayton.

John L. Perry (H), Cleveland.

Moses Hoagland (I), Millersburg.

On the Vera Cruz Route and in battles under General Scott, this regiment distinguishing itself. It lost heavily at Chapultepec in the storming of which it performed a gallant part, and was in the triumphant capture and occupation of the City of Mexico. It was mustered out of the service at Cincinnati, August 13, 1848.

In the Mexican service many of the Ohio volunteer officers won distinction, and some of these by the experience acquired therein, attained high rank subsequently in the Civil War. Captain Ferdinand Van Derveer of the First Ohio Volunteer became a brigadier general; so, also, did Colonel George W. Morgan and Robert B. Mitchell of the Second, Lieutenant Samuel Beatty and Lieutenant Colonel George W. McCook of the Third, and Lieutenant August Moor of the Fourth. Captain William H. Lytle of Kenneally's First Foot also became a brigadier general and fell gallantly heading his command at Chickamauga.

There were also, in Mexico, serving in the Regular Army, a number of young officers from Ohio. They all distinguished themselves by honorable service. Some of them reached the highest military distinction in the War of 1861. Lieutenant

Ulysses S. Grant of the Fourth United States Infantry was in the first battle of the war at Palo Alto. From this on he saw active service at Monterey, Molino del Rey, Vera Cruz and at the storming of Chapultepec at which place he won his captaincy. Lieutenant William T. Sherman of the Third Artillery, who was detailed for special service in the occupancy of California, became a captain by reason thereof. Lieutenant Don Carlos Buell of the Third Infantry was also brevetted captain for distinguished services on the field. In the Civil War he obtained the rank of major general. Lieutenant Charles C. Gilbert of the First Infantry and Lieutenant John S. Mason of the Third Artillery both became brigadier generals. From which it is apparent that, for Ohioans at least, the Mexican campaigns were training schools that developed military talents which afterward ripened into fame and high position.

Nor was Ohio without representation in the naval operations against Mexico. Reed Werden, James F. Schenk, L. C. Rowan, Roger M. Stembel, George M. Ransom and Henry Walker, all appointed from Ohio, served in the United States Navy during the Mexican War. Werden was at the capture of Tupsan and became rear admiral. Schenck was in various engagements in California and was at the bombardment and capture of Guyamas and Mazatlan in Mexico; he became a rear admiral. Rowan fought on sea and land on the Pacific Coast which resulted in the surrender of Los Angeles and the whole of California by the Mexican governor; he became a vice admiral. Stembel and Ransom both served with junior rank in Mexico; the former became a rear admiral and the latter a commodore. Walker participated in the surrender of Vera Cruz, Tupsan and Tobasco, and became a rear admiral. The final rank attained by all these officers was the result of service in the Civil War.

Surely if our Nation won victory and renown in Mexico, Ohio had a full share in all the honors.

No incident of the Mexican War created a more profound impression of sorrow on the people of Ohio than did the death by disease of General Thomas Hamer, at Monterey, Mexico, December 2, 1846, in the forty-sixth year of his age. He had

entered the army as the major of the First Ohio Volunteer Infantry. As the most popular Democrat of Ohio he was the idol and the ideal of his party. He had served in the Legislature and in Congress and enjoyed the reputation of a great lawyer and an eloquent orator. In the campaign of 1840 he was the only man in Ohio that could engage in joint debate with Tom Corwin, the Whig candidate for Governor. At the first call of the President he organized the first regiment raised in Ohio. He had a natural aptitude for military affairs, and before he had reached the seat of war President Polk commissioned him a brigadier general. At the battle of Monterey he displayed fine judgment and gallantry in commanding his brigade, and when General Butler, who commanded the Third Division, was wounded, General Hamer succeeded him.

He was extremely popular with his men. When General Zachary Taylor was informed of Hamer's death, he exclaimed, "I have lost the balance wheel of my volunteer army!" In the official communication to the War Department announcing his death General Taylor said: "In council, I found him clear and judicious; and in the administration of his command, though kind, yet always impartial and just. He was an active participant in the operations before Monterey, and since had commanded the volunteer division. His loss to the army at this time cannot be supplied, and the experience which he daily acquired in a new profession rendered his services continually more valuable. I had looked forward with confidence to the benefit of his abilities and judgments in the service which yet lies before us, and feel most sensibly the privation of them."

The participation of General Hamer and Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant in the battle of Monterey recalls the fact that the young lieutenant owed his West Point cadetship to Hamer. In his "Personal Memoirs" (Volume I, page 33), General Grant refers to this:

"The Honorable Thomas L. Hamer, one of the ablest men Ohio ever produced, was our member of Congress at the time, and had the right of nomination. He and my father had been members of the same debating society (where they were gen-

erally pitted on opposite sides), and intimate personal friends from their early manhood up to a few years before. In politics they differed. Hamer was a life-long Democrat, while my father was a Whig. They had a warm discussion in which they finally became angry, over some act of President Jackson—the removal of the deposit of public moneys, I think—after which they never spoke until after my appointment. I know both of them felt badly over this estrangement, and would have been glad at any time to come to a reconciliation; but neither would make the advance. Under these circumstances my father would not write to Hamer for the appointment but he wrote to Thomas Morris, United States Senator from Ohio, informing him that there was a vacancy at West Point from our district, and that he would be glad if I could be appointed to fill it. This letter, I presume, was turned over to Mr. Hamer, and, as there was no other applicant, he cheerfully appointed me. This healed the breach between the two, never after opened."

Although General Hamer had been buried with all the honors of war at Monterey, the State of Ohio, through its legislature, ordered his remains to be brought back for formal interment at his home at Georgetown in Brown County. For this purpose the following commissioners were appointed to proceed to Mexico: John Allen of Brown county, James C. Kennedy of Clermont and James H. Thompson of Highland. They were authorized to draw on the state treasury for the funds necessary to perform their mission. On their return, through a state funeral, the final honors of a grief-stricken people were paid Thomas L. Hamer. The sincere and lasting hold that he had upon the affections of its countrymen is in evidence yet. For though more than a generation has passed his name and memory is as fresh in Southern Ohio as if he had died but yesterday.

Turning from the battle fields of Mexico where American arms were winning victories at the sad expense of many brave soldiers and sailors, we find at home a complicated situation. The Whig party was divided in its view of the war. Some favored supporting the Government in as much as there was actual war between the United States and its enemies, but the more radical element opposed it on the ground that to give it

support would be promoting the cause of slavery. The representative of the latter section of the Whig party was Senator Thomas Corwin of Ohio. He was firmly convinced that the war was unjust and dishonorable. He finally concluded to take the boldest and most dangerous attitude that any citizen can assume when his country is at war. That is to oppose the appropriation of money to carry on the military movements against his country's enemies.

Senator Corwin did this against the earnest advice of many of his Whig friends. He and two of his distinguished Whig Senatorial colleagues had agreed to assume this position, and throw their votes and influence against appropriations to support the Mexican War. These Senators were Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. When the time came to show their hands they both failed him. Webster doubtless with the Presidential bee of 1848 buzzing about him, saw that this attitude would alienate the southern Whigs, and Crittenden yielded to the slavery influence of his state. So when the time came to oppose the war appropriations Corwin stood alone as the antagonist. In his great speech, of which more later, he referred to this fact, and complained that there was not enough with him to have saved the wicked city of the Scriptures.

Senator Corwin spoke against the prosecution of the Mexican War in the United States Senate, February 11, 1847. The bill pending was one making further appropriations to bring the existing war with Mexico to a speedy and honorable conclusion. The speech reads as well today as when it was delivered, and for lofty eloquence it has not been equalled in the annals of the Senate. It was a courageous speech, honest in its purpose and fearless in its expression. He contended that the war was wrong; that it was a President's and not a people's war, and that it was based on the false proposition that the disputed territory belonged to Texas and not to Mexico. For these reasons therefore, he objected to voting supplies to carry on such a dishonorable and illegal conflict. Up to the time that Senator Corwin conceived that the war was being advanced for conquest, he had supported the appropriations for the Army in

Mexico. Now he was opposed to any further prosecution of the war, and was in favor of withholding its necessary supplies, claiming that the Nation should withdraw its soldiers from Mexico and obtain an honorable peace.

The speech created a profound impression on the country. Its high moral tone, its great ability and parliamentary eloquence was admitted by all, but it was violently attacked by the opposition press, as unpatriotic and even treasonable. Nothing but a great moral conviction could have inspired such a speech at such a time. The American arms had been victorious at Palo Alto and Monterey, and General Scott had just commenced his triumphal march toward the City of Mexico. The country was in an ecstasy of exultant victory, and thousands of young men were offering their services daily. The war-spirit had seized the land. For a Senator to oppose such a war and demand the withdrawal of the American troops from Mexico could not be otherwise than unpopular. His political opponents were thrown into a frenzy, and the American people were staggered when he told them: "If I were a Mexican I would tell you: 'Have you not room in your own country to bury your dead men? If you come into mine we will greet you with bloody hands and welcome you to hospitable graves.' "

Many of Corwin's friends deserted him, some of them being high in the Whig party. On the other hand, he won the greatest praise and admiration from the anti-slavery Whigs. Joshua R. Giddings, Horace Greeley and Henry Wilson came out in favor of him as the Whig candidate for president in 1848. His constituents at home—the Miami Valley—supported him to a man. But over the whole country the force of popular opinion was against the speech and the orator. In Ohio there developed against him the most virulent opposition and he was denounced as a traitor on frequent occasions. The legislature was flooded with petitions asking that his resignation be demanded; but a majority of the judiciary committee of the State Senate, to whom these petitions were referred, approved Corwin's course. They reported, "that the course pursued, with reference to this war by Honorable Thomas Corwin, has in no degree lessened him in the esteem of the state

he represents, but that the implicit confidence in his statesmanship, his moral integrity, his pure patriotism, his true loyalty to the union and the state of Ohio, which was evinced by his election to the high and responsible office of Senator in Congress remains unimpaired and unfaltering."

The intimate connection of Corwin with Ohio and the Mexican War make his subsequent life properly a part of this chapter. With his fine nature, his natural probity and great talents he was always popular in Ohio and throughout the country. His Mexican War speech would have consigned most public men to oblivion. But his fearless life and independent attitude on great questions gave him a public character which won the confidence of the people regardless of party. In the presidential canvass for the nomination in 1848, he declined to allow his name to be considered in the convention. He realized as much as any man in the Whig party that his course in the Senate disqualified him for popular favor. A great war had been brought to a successful close; it was full of gain to the United States, and a conquering war chief was the great object of the people's adulation. The result was the setting aside of Clay and Webster and the nomination of General Zachary Taylor. Like all military candidates, with the glamour of military glory surrounding him, he was easily elected. For the second time death cheated the Whigs out of their victory, and President Taylor died in the midst of his term. Millard Fillmore became President and Thomas Corwin was confirmed as Secretary of the Treasury in his Cabinet, July 20, 1850. He remained, amidst many changes, in the Cabinet until the end of the administration. It was the last of the power of the Whigs, and that party went out of existence in the evolution of great political questions.

Mr. Corwin returned to private life in 1853, and resumed the practice of his profession at Cincinnati. With great questions involving moral issues crowding to the front, a man like Corwin could not remain silent, neither could a constituency such as his, allow him to remain in private life. So we find him elected to Congress from a Republican district, composed of Warren, Clinton, Greene, Fayette and Madison counties

He was not in entire harmony with the Republican party. He had not yet reached the position of Lincoln and Seward on the slavery question. He favored prohibiting slavery in the territories, but he believed that they had a right to make a constitution for statehood permitting slavery if they saw fit.

His position was that, "Congress having passed an enabling act permitting it [the territory] to make a constitution and set up for itself, could not consistently refuse it admission into the union on account of a clause in its constitution, when we had in the Union fifteen states with similar constitutions. If we had no power to turn out states on that account, we should not keep them out." This position was not a tenable one and was soon swept away in the aggressive fight against the extension of slavery which became a cardinal principle of the Republican party.

Again he was elected to Congress in 1860. He became chairman of the famous "Committee of Thirty-Three" appointed to devise some plan to stem secession and to provide for a peaceable settlement of the slavery question. All of its proceedings and recommendations were unavailing. This was due to the fact that it undertook to compromise a moral question; it was willing that slavery should exist and continue undisturbed, and even went so far as to recommend an amendment to the Constitution forever prohibiting the abolition of slavery or the enactment of legislation that would in any wise interfere with its maintenance. Corwin favored this compromise, and it is the one weak spot in his public career. He closed his term in Congress uneventfully except that it was marred by the efforts of his great talents to perpetuate slavery.

On March 12, 1861, President Lincoln appointed him Minister to Mexico which position he filled until 1864, when he returned to this country and took up the practice of his profession at Washington, D. C. He died there suddenly, December 18, 1865.

His unexpected death touched the nation and Ohio especially mourned. In the reception room of the Senate Chamber the great men of our country at that time, regardless of party, met to express their sorrow. Chief Justice Chase presided and

said: "Great were his titles to honor won at the bar, in legislative halls and in executive session; but at this moment they seem insignificant in comparison with the admiration, love and veneration which gathered around him as a man." And Samuel Shellabarger, who was then a representative in Congress, and who was at Corwin's side when he was stricken down, wrote this to the *Ohio State Journal*: "He, who had touched with the scepter of his imperial and god-like intellect, States, Nations, Peoples, Courts, Senators and Senates, made them all bow to the majesty of its power, was now touched—in his time—by the scepter of his Lord, and instantly bowed his head, and laid himself submissively down and died."



## OHIO BANKING INSTITUTIONS, 1803 TO 1866.

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BY A. B. COOVER.

A bank, as we understand and use the word, is simply a plan of organizing capital, by which the full benefits of the latter are secured. The separate means of individuals are united together, and a large sum thus constituted is hired out at interest to those who need it. This combination, and the manner of its use, may be compared to a dam across a valley, and the accumulation in one body the water of separate springs, which otherwise would be of little service; but being united, they form a propelling power for extensive machinery.

Without organization of capital in some form, a community must remain in comparative barbarism. The few who possess wealth above their immediate wants must either send it away for investment where it would enrich other places, or it would for the most part lie dead, while the poor would continue in ignorance and drudgery.

After it is organized, a bank gathers more capital by saving. It presents the first practical idea of economy and increase to thousands of people.

For several centuries past, banks have been the successful medium through which credit has not only been preserved, but great wealth acquired.

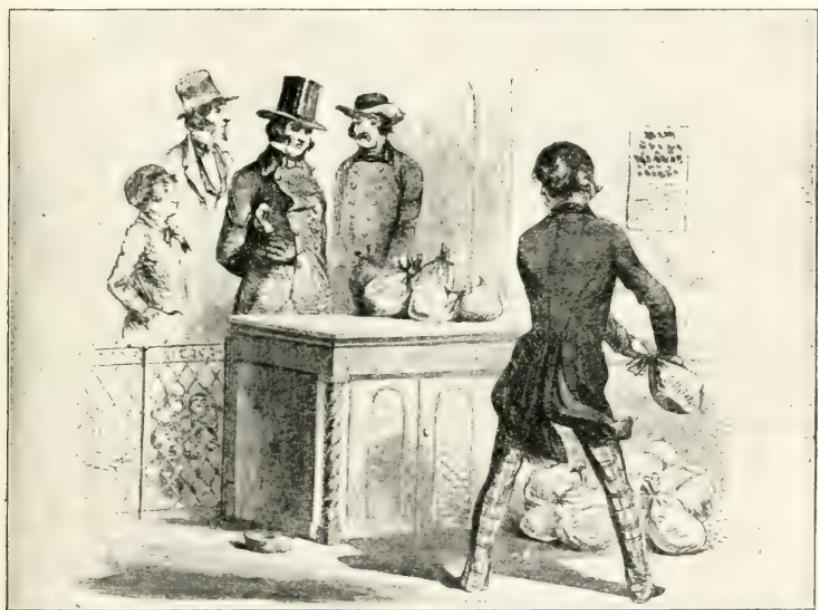
The first bank of which we have any authentic history was established in Genoa, Italy, in 1407—five hundred years ago. The Bank of Amsterdam was established in 1609, and shortly after, those of Hamburg and Rotterdam. The Bank of England was established in 1694; the Royal Bank of Paris in 1718; the Bank of North America in 1781, and the Bank of the United States in 1791.

Under laws passed in 1837 a banking system known as the "Wild Cat" system was formed in the United States; under this law about all that was needed to start a bank was an unlimited

amount of nerve and the necessary capital to pay the engraver and printer for making the notes—this in some instances was not of importance and the bills were obtained on credit.

There is much history to be gained through the study of the antiquated paper money of the United States, and within the last three or four years collectors have begun to recognize them as a legitimate branch of numismatics.

To the uninitiated a broken bank bill is but a worthless scrap of paper,—but stop a moment,—when we look at an old bank bill the first thing which strikes our fancy, and arouses our curiosity, is the odd pictures engraved thereon. Scenes representing progress in the agricultural, manufacturing and mining districts. Portraits and signatures of men who have



INSPECTION DAY.

Bank Examiners were appointed by the State, to visit each bank within the State, to examine the books and see that the required amount of coin was held by the bank according to law. The above sketch illustrates a bank in a prosperous condition. History records a number of instances in which the coin had been borrowed for the occasion and upon the return of the Examiner within a short period, without notice to the bank, no coin would be found within the vaults.

since become famous by having either been sent to Congress,—or to jail. Then the history of the rise and fall of each individual bank appeals to us; the place which it took for good or evil in the community in which it was located. Then follows a desire to study the whole banking system of the United States from the establishment of the Bank of North America in 1781 to the War of 1861-65. We then want to know more about the World's financial system from the beginning of banking up to the present time.

The history of banks and banking in Ohio covers a period of more than one hundred years. However, our part in this history will be restricted to the first half of the nineteenth century.

The State of Ohio was admitted into the Union March 1, 1803. The first bank was organized in April, 1803, at Cincinnati, under the name of "The Miami Exporting Company." This bank was established to facilitate trade, and was capitalized for \$500,000, a monster sum in those days. Shares were made one hundred dollars each, payable five dollars in cash and forty-five dollars in produce and merchandise acceptable to the President and Directors. The remaining fifty dollars was to be paid the second year, also in produce. This bank issued bills and redeemed them in notes of other banks. The bills of this bank were counted as good money for a period of about forty years.

The first regular banks of the State were founded in 1808, the Bank of Marietta and the Bank of Chillicothe. In 1809, the Bank of Steubenville was organized with a capital of \$100,000. The Muskingum Bank of Zanesville and the Western Reserve Bank of Warren followed, each with a capital of \$100,000. The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank of Warren was organized in 1813 with a capital of \$200,000.

In order to furnish a better currency for the State, the Legislature, on February 23, 1816, enacted a general banking law, incorporating the following banks:—The Franklin Bank of Columbus; the Bank of Lancaster; the Belmont Bank of St. Clairsville; the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie at Cleveland; the Bank of Mt. Pleasant, and the Bank of West Union, each with a capital of \$100,000. This law made the State a partner in

the profits and the capital of these institutions by setting apart one share in twenty-five on each bank free, and permitted the renewed banks to create new stock accordingly.

In 1817, six new banks were chartered as follows: The Bank of Circleville; the Bank of Gallipolis; the Bank of Hamilton; the Farmers' Bank of Canton; the Portsmouth Bank, and a new bank at Steubenville. In 1818 the Geauga Bank of Painesville was formed as a northern outpost of commerce, while the formation of the Commercial Bank of Cincinnati, with a capital of \$300,000, kept up the south-western end of the State.

The Bank of the United States established a branch at Cincinnati in January, 1817, and one at Chillicothe in October of the same year. The charter of the Bank of the United States provided the method of taxation. In 1821 the Legislature of Ohio enacted a law to withdraw from the Bank of the United States the protection and aid of the laws of the State.

The Legislature of Ohio was very hostile to foreign banking institutions, or banks within the State controlled by foreign capital. Repeated acts of hostility were passed, changing the bank charters, especially by altering the manner of taxation. By an act passed March 14, 1853, it was enacted that if a bank should refuse to pay the tax assessed against it, which might be different from that provided in its charter, within five days after notice, the treasurer was authorized to seize all money or valuables found in the bank. To the county treasurer or commissioner was given power to break any door or window, or if found necessary to obtain the property of the bank, the doors of the bank vault could be broken open.

Prior to 1838, and for the most part, down to the legislation incident to the Civil War, local banking was regulated by the State, and was practically free. Under prescribed rules, any individual or corporation might issue notes on a pledge that they would be redeemed when presented.

Generally speaking, the so-called banks in the early days of Ohio were literally established without capital or experience on the part of those who managed the same. Notes for circulation were scarce, and when obtained were of doubtful value. In

addition to the untrustworthy character of the bank-notes in circulation, counterfeits were so abundant that it required the knowledge of an expert to avoid them. There were counterfeits on a large portion of the Ohio banks, as well as the Bank of the United States. The engraving on the bank-notes of that day was so poorly done that it was no difficult task to imitate them.

The reports of the Secretary of the Treasury show that in 1835 there were twenty-four banks in Ohio, with a combined capital of \$5,819,692; but owing to faulty methods and insecure foundations the number rapidly decreased until in 1845 there remained but eight banks with a combined capital of only \$2,171,007.

A new system was fathered by the State in 1845, in which the State Bank of Ohio was created, with a capital of \$6,150,000, which was divided into twelve districts, and provisions made for the establishment of sixty-three branches, forty-one of which were in actual operation. These banks were chartered to run until 1866, and were under the supervision of a Board of Con-



A bank panic caused by the suspension of the Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company, August 24, 1857.

*(From a pencil sketch made in that year.)*

trol, which furnished all the notes for circulation. The branches were required to deposit ten per cent. of their capital in stock of Ohio or United States money as collateral, to be applied to the redemption of notes when any bank failed.

The act incorporating the State Bank of Ohio provided for the establishment of independent banks.

In relation to the branches of the State Bank, the only security that their notes would be redeemed in case of failure was the responsibility of the other branches, each branch being responsible for the redemption of the notes of all the rest. The Independent banks deposited with the Treasurer of State, bonds on which they received ninety per cent. of circulation. The result demonstrated that the State Bank System was equally as safe as the other, for while out of forty-one branches established six failed, their notes circulated just as well as before, were received by all the branches and all other parties in the State at par with the solvent branch issues, and were returned to the office in Columbus, where they were redeemed from a fund provided for that purpose and the notes then destroyed.

The following is a list of the banking institutions located in Ohio from 1803 to 1861 and as much of the history of each bank as it has been possible with my limited facilities to obtain. My authority for statements made concerning the banks is from a miscellaneous collection of data made in collecting Antiquated Paper Money during the past ten years.

There may be errors and omissions in this list, however I am confident that it is the nearest complete of any article of the kind heretofore published.

*Akron—*

Akron Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; J. W. McMillen, President; A. M. Eberman, Cashier.

*Ashtabula—*

Farmers' Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; O. H. Fitch, President; A. F. Hubbard, Cashier.

*Athens—*

Athens Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; J. Ballard, President; J. R. Crawford, Cashier.

*Bloomingville*—

Bank of Sandusky Bay.

*Bridgeport*—

Belmont Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; Jno. Warfield, President; John C. Tallman, Cashier.

*Cadiz*—

Harrison Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; C. Dewey, President; B. W. Phillips, Cashier.

*Canton*—

The Farmers' Bank of Canton; in 1837 had a paid up capital of \$80,000 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$172,446.

The Stark County Bank; J. A. Saxton, President, and E. P. Grant, Cashier.

*Chillicothe*—

The Bank of Chillicothe; capital stock \$500,000, in 1837 the circulation amounted to \$472,477.

Chillicothe Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; Wm. H. Douglass, President; J. B. Scott, Cashier.

The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank.

Farmers', Mechanics' & Merchants' Bank. (It is claimed that notes issued by the above named bank were fraudulent, as there was no bank of that name in Chillicothe.)

Ross County Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; O. T. Reeves, President; A. Spencer Nye, Cashier.

The United States Bank; organized and established in October, 1817.

*Cincinnati*—

The Bank of Cincinnati; organized in 1814, with a capital stock of \$140,000. Ethan Stone, President; Lot Pugh, Cashier.

Bank of the Ohio Valley; W. A. Goodman, Cashier.

Cincinnati & Whitewater Canal Company.

The Citizens' Bank.

The City Bank of Cincinnati; Geo. S. Baker, President; S. Roberts, Cashier.

The Commercial Bank; incorporated in 1829, charter expired in 1844, capital stock \$1,000,000, and in 1837 notes in circulation to the amount of \$1,115,548. James Hall, President; C. B. Foote, Cashier.

The Consolidated Banking Company.

The Exchange Bank & Savings Institute.

The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank; organized in 1812, incorporated in 1813, capital stock \$2,000,000. William Irwin, President; Samuel W. Davies, Cashier.

The Franklin Bank; incorporated in 1833, charter expired in 1843, capital stock \$1,000,000, circulation in 1837 \$485,878. J. H. Groesbeck, President; T. M. Jackson, Cashier. This bank was rechartered in 1843 and closed in 1856.

The Franklin Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; J. Kilgore, President; T. M. Jackson, Cashier.

The Hamilton County Bank.

Lafayette Bank; incorporated in 1834, charter expired in 1854, capital stock \$1,000,000, circulation in 1837 \$478,083. George Carlisle, President; Wm. G. W. Gano, Cashier.

Mechanics' & Traders' Bank.

Merchants' Bank.

Merchants' & Traders Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; S. L. Hommedieu, President; C. E. Nourse, Cashier.

The Miami Exporting Company Bank; incorporated in 1803, capital stock \$500,000 of which \$292,955 was paid up. In 1837 bills were in circulation to the amount of \$383,645. Oliver M. Spencer, President; Samuel C. Vance, Cashier.

The Ohio & Cincinnati Loan Office.

The Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company; incorporated in 1834, charter expired in 1843 and rechartered in the same year. Capital stock paid up in the year 1837, \$628,594 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$392,595.

Phoenix Bank.

Platt & Company's Bank.

The Savings Bank; John D. Park, President.

The United States Bank; a branch of this bank was organized and established in Cincinnati in January, 1817.

The Western Bank.

*Circleville—*

The Bank of Circleville; (old Bank) incorporated in 1818, charter expired in 1843.

The Bank of Circleville; (new Bank) incorporated in 1834, charter expired in 1855; however the bank failed and was closed in 1854. The capital stock was \$200,000 and in 1837 bills were in circulation to the amount of \$145,741. J. L. Franklin, President; H. K. Lawrence, Cashier.

The Pickaway County Bank; M. Brown, President; O. Ballard, Cashier.

*Cleveland—*

The Bank of Cleveland; capital stock in 1837, \$205,925, and bills in circulation to the amount of \$242,834.

The Bank of Commerce.

The Canal Bank; Isaac L. Hewitt, President; T. C. Severance, Cashier.

The City Bank of Cleveland; Lemuel Wick, President; Alfred Clark, Cashier.

The Commercial Bank of Lake Erie; capital stock in 1837, \$400,000, and bills in circulation to the amount of \$356,133.

The Commercial Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; W. A. Otis, President; T. P. Handy, Cashier.

The Forest City Bank; J. G. Hussey, President; W. H. Stanley, Cashier.

The Franklin Bank.

The Lafayette Bank.

Mechanics' & Traders' Bank.

Merchants' Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; T. M. Kelly, President; P. Handy, Cashier.

Branch of the Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Company.

*Columbus—*

The City Bank of Columbus; incorporated in 1845.

"This institution went into operation near the same time as the Exchange and Franklin Branch Banks; under the same law,

but a different provision of it, which authorized Independent Banks, secured by the deposit of State stocks with the Treasurer of State. This bank was located in the same building as the Columbus Insurance Company, and, to a great extent, the stockholders in one of these institutions were also in the other; and so also with the directory of both institutions, which became in their business much mixed up together.

"Joel Buttles was the President of the bank until the time of his death, in the summer of 1850. Then Robert W. McCoy was President until the time of his death in January, 1856. Thomas Moodie was Cashier during the whole existence of the Institution.

"Finally the Bank and the Insurance Company both failed; the Insurance Company in 1851, and the Bank suspended and closed its doors in November, 1854." (*History of Franklin County, 1858.*)

The Clinton Bank; incorporated in 1834, and in 1837 had a paid up capital of \$299,500 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$115,046. W. M. Sullivant, President; D. W. Deshler, Cashier.

"The Clinton Bank of Columbus was chartered 1833-34, and in October, 1834, the first Board of Directors was elected, and consisted of William Neil, Christopher Neiswanger, David W. Deshler, Demas Adams, John Patterson, Jesse Stone, Noah H. Swayne, Joseph Ridgeway, Bela Latham, William S. Sullivant, William Miner, O. W. Sherwood, and Nathan Medbury. William Neil was elected President, and John Delafield, Jr., Cashier. Mr. Neil continued President until January, 1846, when he was succeeded by William S. Sullivant, who was continued President until the charter expired January 1, 1854. Mr. Delafield was succeeded as Cashier by John E. Jeffords, in January, 1838. Mr. Jeffords died in April, 1842, and David W. Deshler was then appointed Cashier, and continued until the expiration of the charter. After the expiration of the charter, some half dozen of the principal stockholders in the old bank formed themselves into a new private banking company, and continued to do business as such in the same room. They styled their institution 'Clinton Bank,' merely dropping from the old name the words 'of Columbus.' The notes of the old Clinton Bank of Columbus were redeemed by the new concern at par." (*History of Franklin County, 1858.*)

The Exchange Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; incorporated in 1845, with a capital of \$125,000. W. B. Hubbard, President, and H. M. Hubbard, Cashier.

"In February, 1845, the banking law, to incorporate the State Bank of Ohio, and other banking companies, was passed. Books were immediately opened, and the requisite amount of stock soon subscribed for three new banks—the Exchange Branch and the Franklin Branch of the State Bank; and the City Bank based upon State stocks.

"The Exchange Bank went into operation on the 24th of May, 1845, with a capital of \$125,000, the charter of which expired on the 1st of May, 1866.

"The first Board of Directors of the Exchange Bank were, William B. Hubbard, D. T. Woodbury, Edwards Pierpont, O. Follett, and Peter Hayden. The successive business officers were as follows: Presidents.—

"William Hubbard, May 24, 1845 to June, 1852.

"William Dennison, Jr., June 22, 1852 to Jan. 1, 1856.

"D. W. Deshler, January 1, 1856 to 1858 and later.

Cashiers.—

"H. M. Hubbard, May 24, 1845 to 1853.

"M. L. Neville, June 1, 1853 to 1855.

"C. J. Hardy, January 1, 1856 to 1858 and later."

(*History of Franklin County, 1858.*)

The Franklin Bank of Columbus; incorporated in 1816, with the charter to expire in 1843. In 1837 there was a paid up capital of \$481,500 and notes in circulation to the amount of \$272,396.

The Franklin Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; incorporated in 1845, with a capital stock of \$175,000. Samuel Parsons, President, and James Espy, Cashier.

"The Franklin Bank went into operation July 1, 1845, with a capital of \$175,000. The charter expiring May 1, 1866. The first Board of Directors were, Gustavius Swan, Samuel Parsons, George M. Parsons, Wray Thomas and Thomas Wood. The successive business officers were as follows:

Presidents.—

"Samuel Parsons, July, 1845 to July, 1852.

"Thomas Wood, May, 1852 to July, 1853.

"D. W. Deshler, July, 1853 to 1858 and later.

Cashiers.—

"James Espy, July, 1845 to July, 1854.

"Joseph Hutcheson, 1854 to 1858 and later."

(*History of Franklin County, 1858.*)

The Mechanics' Savings Institute.

*Cuyahoga Falls—*

Summit County Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; E. N. Sill, President; E. S. Comstock, Cashier.

*Dayton—*

The Dayton Bank; incorporated in 1814, rechartered in 1843, closed and discontinued in 1856. In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$167,203 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$65,612.

The Dayton Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; Peter Odlin, President, and Charles G. Swain, Cashier.

The Miami Valley Bank; Daniel Beckel, President, and S. C. Emley, Cashier.

The Dayton Manufacturing Company;

"In November, 1813, meetings of the Dayton business men were held with a view of establishing a bank. The next month the Dayton Manufacturing Company was incorporated by the Legislature. On December 28, the following Directors were elected: H. G. Phillips, Joseph Peirce, John Compton, David Reid, William Eaker, Charles R. Greene, Isaac G. Burnet, Joseph H. Crane, D. C. Lindsley, John Ewing, Maddox Fisher, David Griffin, and John H. Williams. May 19, 1814, the board organized by the election of H. G. Phillips, President, and George S. Houston, Cashier. The banking hours were from 10 A. M. to 1 P. M. \* \* \* During the winter (1814) the community had a new experience in the appearance of one and two dollar bills, of the Dayton Manufacturing Company, fraudulently raised to twenties and one hundred dollar bills." (*History of Montgomery County.* 1882.)

*Delaware—*

The Bank of Delaware; W. E. Moore, Cashier.

The Delaware Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; H. Williams, President, and B. Powers, Cashier.

*Eaton—*

The Preble County Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; J. Harshman, President, and H. C. Heistand, Cashier.

*Elyria—*

Lorain Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; E. Dewitt, President, and John R. Finn, Cashier.

*Franklin*—

The Franklin Bank of Portage County; Zenas Kent, President; Charles Peck, Jr., Cashier.

*Fulton*—

The Orphans' Institute Bank.

*Gallipolis*—

The Bank of Gallipolis.

*Granville*—

The Bank of Granville, (also known as the Granville Alexandrian Society). Organized in 1814-15; in the year 1837 this institution had a paid up capital of \$146,129 and notes in circulation to the amount of \$101,213. Alexander Holmes, President, and R. R. Roach, Cashier.

"At an early period an act of the legislature incorporated the Granville Alexandrian Society. It was supposed the law conferred banking powers, accordingly a bank was established about 1814 or 1815.

"The banking house was a one story building, and stood at the southeast corner of Broad street and the public square. It issued circulating notes and did a general banking business. It is not certain who its first directors and officers were, but Elias Gilman, Silas Winchel, and Timothy Spellman, residents of Granville, were of the board, with Alexander Holmes, of Newark, as President, and R. R. Roach, as Cashier. Subsequently G. Swan, was Cashier, and he was succeeded by Elisha S. Gilman. This was no doubt the first banking institution in the county.

"In 1817, in common with other banks in the State, \* \* \* the bank failed to redeem its notes, and suspended payment, when its notes greatly depreciated. In 1836 the bank was revived, principally by Buffalo parties. Henry Roop was made President, and A. G. Hammond, Cashier. Mr. Hammond did not continue long, and A. J. Smith succeeded him. Mr. Roop retired from the presidency after a time, when his place was supplied by some person interested in the bank in Granville. The public did not have great confidence in this bank, its issues not being in much favor, and it suspended payment in 1841. Its business was wound up by order of the court, and some of its stockholders were made individually liable for its outstanding notes." (*Licking County History*, 1881.)

*Hamilton*—

The Bank of Hamilton; incorporated in 1817, with a capital stock of \$100,000. In 1837 this bank had bills in

circulation to the amount of \$106,343. Closed in 1842. John Riley, President, and William Blair, Cashier.

"On the 19th of December, 1817, the Bank of Hamilton was incorporated with a capital of \$300,000, and went into operation on the 30th day of July, 1818. The capital stock paid in was \$33,062.68. This institution continued to do business for only two or three years, the pressure of the times and depreciating of bank paper in the West forced them to direct their measures towards a close of their business. \* \* \* The first president of the Bank of Hamilton was John Reily, and the first cashier, William Blair. \* \* \* From 1824 to 1835 directors were annually elected to keep the bank alive. In 1835 additional shares were subscribed and the bank again went into operation. \* \* \* The hard times pressure finally compelled the bank to close its doors on February 9, 1842. The directors were arrested. It was claimed they issued more notes than their charter called for. One director was placed on trial and acquitted. All the other cases were nolled." (*History of Hamilton County.* 1896.)

The Butler County Bank.

Peck Bank; incorporated in 1857. Dr. John P. Peck, President, and John B. Cornell, Cashier.

Shaeffer & Curtis Bank.

*Ironton*—

The Iron Bank; James Rogers, President, and George Williard, Cashier.

The Ohio State Stock Bank.

*Kirtland*—

The Kirtland Safety Society Bank.

*Lancaster*—

The Hocking Valley Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; D. Tallimage, President, and M. A. Daugherty, Cashier.

The Lancaster Bank; in 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$200,000 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$274,423. The dividends of the Lancaster Bank from 1817 to 1839 averaged 13%.

*Lebanon*—

The Lebanon-Miami Banking Company; incorporated in 1816, charter expired in 1843.

*Logan*—

The Logan Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; F. Campbell, President, and J. Walker, Cashier.

*Manhattan*—

The Manhattan Bank.

*Mansfield*—

The Bank of Mansfield; organized in 1816. John Garrison, President, and Mr. Elliott, Cashier. This institution applied for a charter which was denied them.

The Farmers' Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; incorporated in 1847. James Purdy, President, and H. Colby, Cashier. (John Rhodes was succeeded by J. M. Rhodes as Cashier in 1850, and he in turn by Colby in 1851. At the expiration of the charter of this bank it was merged into a National Bank.)

*Marietta*—

The Bank of Marietta; incorporated in 1808, re-chartered in 1816, charter expired in 1843. Paid up capital in 1837, \$101,090, and bills in circulation to the amount of \$120,271. Rufus Putnam, President, and David Putnam, Cashier.

"The first corporation in the State which exercised banking powers exclusively, was chartered February 10, 1808, as the Bank of Marietta. The directors named in the charter were Rufus Putnam, Benjamin I. Gilman, William Skinner, Paul Fearing, Dudley Woodbridge, Earl Sproat, and David Putnam. This charter was for the term of ten years. \* \* \* In 1816 the charter, although not yet having expired, was extended, under the banking act of 1816, to January 1, 1843.

\* \* \* The following were the successive Presidents and Cashiers:

"Presidents:—Rufus Putnam, Benjamin I. Gilman, Dudley Woodbridge, Levi Parker, and John Mills.

"Cashiers:—Benjamin Putnam, David Putnam, David S. Chambers, Alexander Henderson, William B. Barnes, Arius Nye, and A. T. Nye.

\* \* \* The first safe was merely a plank chest, barred with iron and secured by a padlock."

(*History of Washington County. 1881.*)

The Marietta Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; incorporated in 1845. John Mills, President, and N. L. Wilson, Cashier.

"A branch of the State Bank of Ohio, was organized and commenced business November 3, 1845, under the name of the Bank of Marietta, with John Mills, President, and Noah L. Wilson, Cashier. \* \* \* In 1857, Noah L. Wilson resigned and I. R. Waters was elected Cashier."

(*History of Washington County. 1881.*)

*Marion—*

The Bank of Marion; W. W. Concklin, President, and J. Ault, Cashier.

The Ohio State Stock Bank.

*Massillon—*

The Bank of Massillon; incorporated in 1834, charter expired in 1855, business closed in 1856. In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$200,000 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$320,181. Charles K. Skinner, President, and F. E. Platt, Cashier.

The Merchants' Bank; Isaac Steese, President, and S. Hunt, Cashier.

The Union Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; M. D. Wellman, President, and L. Hurxthal, Cashier.

*Miamisburg—*

The Washington Bank; incorporated in 1844. R. S. Wheelock, President, and L. P. Morris, Cashier.

(This institution was incorporated as the Washington Social Library Company, and was supposed to have banking privileges.)

*Middletown—*

The Canal Bank.

*Monroe Falls—*

The Monroe Falls Manufacturing Company.

*Mount Pleasant—*

The Bank of Mount Pleasant; incorporated in 1816 charter expired in 1843. In 1837 this bank had a paid up

capital of \$194,495 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$195,980.

Mount Pleasant Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; James Gills, President, and Jonathan Burns, Cashier.

*Mount Vernon—*

The Knox County Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; incorporated in 1848. H. B. Curtis, President, and J. C. Ramsey, Cashier.

"The Knox County Bank of Mt. Vernon, O., was organized as a branch of the State Bank of Ohio, in 1848. Henry B. Curtis, President, and John C. Ramsey, Levi L. Lewis, and J. Frank Andrews were the successive Cashiers. The life of the Knox County Bank extended from 1848 to 1865, when it was reorganized and became known as the Knox County National Bank."

(*History of Knox County.* 1881.)

The Owl Creek Bank of Mount Vernon; organized in 1816, capital stock \$150,000. James Smith, President, and L. S. Silliman, Cashier.

"The following is an account of an institution with the above euphonious name, located upon the banks of Owl Creek, and within the precincts of Mt. Vernon. The engraving above gives a view of one of 'the owls' issued by this bank. They were of every denomination from the shinplaster form of 6½ cents up to \$10.00. \* \* \* From journals and old files of that day, we have compiled the following. There being great complaint of the scarcity of money after the war (1812), large numbers of people in the various cities and towns in the United States, and more particularly in the West and Ohio, conceived the idea of multiplying the quantity of paper in lieu of money by manufacturing what is called currency. Among other points, those of Mount Vernon determined to engage in the business of making money. As early as December, 1814, a meeting was held, and articles of association for the organizing of a bank, to be called 'The Owl Creek Bank of Mount Vernon,' were entered into, fixing the capital stock at \$150,000, divided into shares of \$50 each, and appointing certain commissioners to open stock books, etc. Petitions were then presented to Legislature, praying for a charter; and after having petitioned the Legislature for an act authorizing such an association, and having been denied the grant, determined to 'go it alone.' on their own hook.

"On the 10th day of April, 1816, the first meeting on record of those who inaugurated the Owl Creek Bank was held at the court-house in Mount Vernon. \* \* \* As showing the feeling existing in regard to such banks, in the winter of 1816-17 an enemy of the bank killed a tremendous big owl, and bringing it into town, he rudely threw it down upon the counter, exclaiming, 'There, d'm you, I've killed your president.'

"The bank building was a rough, yet substantial piece of workmanship, a mixture of Doric and Corinthian styles of architecture, weather-boarded; and with four-penny nails thickly driven through its batten door and window-shutters, so thieves could not cut in and steal. On the ground it covered about fourteen feet square, and was one low story in height, and painted red.

"The office of the Bank President was no sinecure in those days, at least of the Owl Creek Bank, for we find that the *chief owl* was at all times compelled to defend his institution.

"Such is, in brief, the history of the Owl Creek Bank; an institution which, in part from its outre name, has acquired more notoriety than any other that has ever existed in America—if not in the world. The fame of the 'United States Bank' was not more widely extended. Its failure created no greater dismay. Nations civilized and tribes savage have seen and handled its money. In its brief life, yet protracted existence, it has been cursed most by those whom it befriended, and wronged most by those who professed to be its friends.

"The evil day came upon it—even in its early youth; before it had become full grown, the keen frosts nipped it. Its crest fell and its petals closed in, because too much light struck in on it suddenly. Its head wilted; it fell; and great was the fall thereof. Its sunshine friends deserted when the cloud portended the coming storm—some who had received its money and upon whom it had showered its benefits, and some who had lent their credit and volunteered their names to the infant, deserted its cause, and attempted to plead infancy and limitation in bar. As with the human kind, when life is almost extinct, doctors are often called in only to attend upon the corpse; so, in this instance, lawyers were brought in at the eleventh hour to the wake. In the last pangs opiates were sought to be administered, and the sleep of forgetfulness was invoked by a few.

"After thirty years in the courts, the last dollar of its issue presented was redeemed, and, forty years after its birth, 'all that was of earth earthy' of the Owl Creek Bank of Mount Vernon, was consigned to its final resting place—The Great Book of Records." (*History of Knox County. 1862.*)

*Newark—*

The Licking County Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; Benjamin Elliott, President, and J. E. Blythe, Cashier.

The Newark Plank Road Company; C. Brady, President.

*New Hagerstown—*

The New Hagerstown Bank.

*New Lisbon—*

The Bank of Columbiana; incorporated in 1816, charter expired in 1843. In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$60,000 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$150,000.

*New Philadelphia—*

The Bank of New Philadelphia; C. Deardorff, President, and J. Blickensderfer, Cashier.

"The first and for many years the only banking house in New Philadelphia, was known as Blickenderfer's Bank. The business was conducted in a small building which stood on Lot 150, High Street, the site of the new hotel. A bill for \$5, now in possession of E. A. Deardorff, establishes the fact that the 'Bank of New Philadelphia,' which issued it, was in existence in 1817.

"C. Deardorff was then President, and J. Blickensderfer, Cashier. A notice published in the *Chronicle* in November, 1819, directing the stockholders to meet at the office of Sylvester Johnson, to transact important business, indicates that the banking business was conducted for several years. Money in that day was scarce, and the bank flooded the village with paper currency for amounts ranging from a sixpence upward.

"Mr. C. H. Mitchner preserves this graphic account of the institution:—'Like all other banks of that day in Ohio, it was honestly run on paper money only, although the bills promised to pay in gold or silver on sight. It was started to build up the town, but met with a sad accident. One day a stranger stopped in with \$10,000 of the bills of the bank and demanded the coin. The officers told him to call again in a short time. This gave them time to hide. They shut the bank and adjourned to Sluthour's (carpenter) shop. He told them that he had not many shavings made, and that they had better separate; that he would hide the cashier in the shavings, while the president, having on a pair of buckskin breeches, had better go into the red brush, and stay until the stranger left. Thus they kept shady until he was out of town. In a very short time he returned to the bank, and having no

specie for him, they let the bank go up higher than a kite, and it never came down.'

"About 1852 or 1854, Peter Hines found the bank safe in a garret. It was an old fashioned hair-trunk, lined with newspaper, and behind which he found two Spanish quarters, dated 1796 and 1800, which the writer purchased for \$1, so that he could boast of having all the specie of the first bank of New Philadelphia when it bursted." (*History of Tuscarawas County.* 1884.)

*New Salem—*

The Farmers' Bank of New Salem; incorporated in 1816.

The Jefferson Bank.

*Norwalk—*

The Bank of Norwalk; incorporated in 1831, charter expired in 1850. In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$161,245 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$187,874.

Norwalk Branch of the State Bank of Ohio. Timothy Baker, President, and John Gardner, Cashier.

*Ohio City—*

The Ohio Railroad Company;

This Company was incorporated in 1836. In 1836, the residents of Brooklyn township, in Cuyahoga County, procured the passage of an Act incorporating themselves into a city, and gave to this city the high sounding name of "The City of Ohio." Considerable rivalry existed between the residents of the City of Cleveland and the City of Ohio; in fact the City of Ohio was the first to be incorporated as a city. In 1854, the rivalry of the two cities having ceased, and Cleveland being the largest in the number of population, it was decided to annex the City of Ohio to Cleveland, which was done on June 15, 1854.

At the same session in which the City of Ohio was incorporated, an act was passed to incorporate the Ohio Railroad Company, the chief office of which was located in the City of Ohio. The Ohio Railroad Company obtained a large advance in money from the State, under the act of 1837 which authorized the State to loan its credit to railroads. By the 17th section of its charter, the treasurer was authorized to issue orders, and under this power it issued a large amount of orders in the similitude of bank bills.

*Painesville—*

The Bank of Geauga; incorporated in 1829, charter expired in 1844. In 1837 it had a paid up capital of \$87,000 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$178,813. Daniel Kerr, President, and S. S. Osborn, Cashier.

*Piqua—*

The Piqua Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; William Scott, President, and Joseph G. Young, Cashier.

*Portsmouth—*

The Commercial Bank of Scioto; incorporated in 1817, charter expired in 1843. In 1837 it had a paid up capital of \$268,621 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$248,857.

"The old Commercial Bank of Scioto was chartered by a special act of December 16, 1817. Its capital was \$100,000. It was organized and ready for business December 17, 1817, with Thomas Waller, President and Elijah McIntyre, Cashier. The successive Presidents and Cashiers were:

## Presidents:

"Thomas Waller, 1817 to 1823.

"John R. Turner, 1823 to —————

"J. V. Robinson, —————

## Cashiers:

"Elijah McIntyre, 1817 to 1820

"Jacob Clingman, 1820 to 1833.

"N. K. Clough, 1833 to —————

"H. Buchanan, —————

\*The bank made an assignment on January 13, 1843."

(*Scioto County History.*)

The Portsmouth Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; incorporated in 1846. Capital stock \$100,000. W. Kinney, President, and E. Kinney, Cashier.

"The Portsmouth Branch of the State Bank of Ohio, was established in 1846, with an organized capital of \$100,000. Peter Kinney was the first President and Samuel Reed the first Cashier. This bank was in existence until 1865 when it was succeeded by the Portsmouth National Bank." (*Scioto County History.* 1903.)

*Putnam—*

The Muskingum Bank; this bank in 1837 had a paid up capital of \$123,000 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$136,876. E. Buckingham, President, and B. H. Buckingham, Cashier.

*Ravenna—*

The Franklin Bank.

The Portage County Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; R. E. Campbell, President, and John Ebbert, Cashier.

*Ripley—*

The Farmers' Branch of the State Bank of Ohio.

Thomas McCague, President, and Daniel P. Evans, Cashier.

*Salem—*

The Farmers' Branch of the State Bank of Ohio. S. Jennings, President, and C. H. Cornwell, Cashier.

*Sandusky—*

The Bank of Sandusky; incorporated in 1834, charter expired in 1850. In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$100,000 and bills in circulation amounting to \$108,217.

The Sandusky City Bank. F. Lane, President, and H. S. Flynt, Cashier.

The Union Bank. E. T. Barney, President, and S. W. Torrey, Cashier.

*Springfield—*

The Springfield Bank. Oliver Clarke, President, and William McMeen, Cashier.

The Mad River Valley Branch of the State Bank of Ohio. Thomas F. McGrew, Cashier.

*Steubenville—*

The Bank of Steubenville.

The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank; incorporated in 1817, charter expired in 1843. In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$273,000 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$401,281.

The Jefferson Branch of the State Bank of Ohio. William Spencer, Cashier.

*St. Clairsville—*

The Belmont Bank of St. Clairsville; incorporated in 1816, charter expired in 1843. In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$193,790 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$273,292.

*Tiffin—*

The Ohio Savings Institute Bank.

The Seneca County Bank. Wm. H. Gibson, President, and Charles L. Johnson, Cashier.

*Toledo—*

The Marine Bank. J. C. Hitchcock, Cashier.

The Toledo Branch of the State Bank of Ohio. Amasa Stone, President, and Paul Jones, Cashier.

The Commercial Branch of the State Bank of Ohio.

Samuel Young, President, and M. Johnson, Cashier.

*Troy—*

The Miami County Branch of the State Bank of Ohio.

William Barber, President, and H. S. Mayo, Cashier.

*Urbana—*

The Champaign County Bank. S. A. Winslow, President, and H. P. Espy, Cashier.

The State Stock Bank.

The Urbana Bank; this bank in 1837 had a paid up capital of \$108,866 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$157,488.

*Warren—*

The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank.

The North-Western Bank.

The Western Reserve Bank; incorporated in 1812, charter expired in 1843. In 1837 it had a paid up capital of \$165,837 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$213,900. George Parsons, President, and George Taylor, Cashier.

"The Western Reserve Bank was chartered in 1811-12, with the following names as corporators:—Simon Perkins, Robert B. Parkman, Turhand Kirtland, George Tod, John Ford, C. S. Mygatt, Calvin Austin, William Rayen, and John Kinsman. The corporators soon after organized, and by subscription secured the required

amount of stock. \* \* \* General Simon Perkins was the first President, and continued until April 5, 1836, when he resigned, and Zalmon Fitch was chosen in his place. Mr. Fitch, at the organization of the bank, was elected Cashier, and continued in that position until promoted to the presidency. He resigned January 21, 1838, and George Parsons, who was elected in his stead, held the office until the close of the business existence of the bank; thus being an officer in the same for nearly a half century. Ralph Hickox succeeded Mr. Fitch, and was Cashier until his decease in 1840. George Taylor succeeded Mr. Hickox, and served in that capacity until the closing of the Western Reserve Bank proper. \* \* \* The Western Reserve bank started with a capital of \$100,000 which was increased to \$300,000. \* \* \* In 1816 its charter was extended to December 31, 1843, when it went into liquidation; but in July, 1845, it was reconstructed under the independent banking law, which extended it until 1866. \* \* \* It was among the first banks chartered in the State, and was the only one that continued sound and solvent to the end of the State Bank Organization. \* \* \* During the general suspension of specie payment in 1814 and in 1836 this bank suspended for a few months."

(*Mahoning Valley Historical Collections*. 1876.)

#### *Washington—*

The Guernsey Branch of the State Bank of Ohio. John McCurdy, President, and George A. Endly, Cashier.

#### *West Union—*

The Bank of West Union; in 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$20,000 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$48,301. The bank failed and was closed in 1841.

#### *Wooster—*

The Bank of Wooster; organized in 1834, and failed in 1848. In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$150,221 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$194,289. J. S. Lake, President, and Benjamin Bently, Cashier.

The German Bank of Wooster; organized in 1816. T. J. Jones, President, and W. Larwill, Cashier.

"The old German Bank of Wooster was organized in 1816, with T. J. Jones, President, and W. Larwill, Cashier. Its existence was of brief duration, and for awhile it was conducted without a charter."

(*History of Wayne County*. 1878.)

The Wayne County Branch of the State Bank of Ohio; it was organized in 1848, and discontinued in 1865. D. Robinson, Sr., President, and E. Quinby, Jr., Cashier.

"The Wayne County Branch of the State Bank of Ohio was organized in February, 1848. D. Robinson, Sr., was president until January, 1858, and Isaac Steese from 1858 to the expiration of its charter in 1865; E. Quinby, Jr., being cashier from the organization to its close." (*Wayne County History.* 1878.)

*Xenia—*

The Bank of Xenia; incorporated in 1834, charter expired in 1850. The paid up capital of this bank in 1837 was \$100,000 and bills were in circulation to the amount of \$69,635.

The Xenia Branch of the State Bank of Ohio. A. Hivling, President, and A. Trader, Cashier.

*Youngstown—*

The Mahoning County Bank. Wm. Raven, President, and R. W. Taylor, Cashier.

*Zanesville—*

The Bank of Zanesville was incorporated in 1832, and the charter expired in 1843. In 1837 this bank had a paid up capital of \$258,262 and bills in circulation to the amount of \$189,626.

The Franklin Bank of Zanesville. D. Brush, President, and Charles E. Robins, Cashier.

The Muskingum Bank; this bank was incorporated in 1812, with a capital stock of \$100,000. It was later re-chartered, and finally discontinued in 1843.

The Muskingum Branch of the State Bank of Ohio. William Tallant, President, and H. J. Jewett, Cashier.

From the foregoing paper, a record is given of one hundred and fifty-two institutions which exercised banking privileges within the State of Ohio during the first half of the nineteenth century. Several hundred private and manufacturing concerns issued *promises to pay* in the semblance of bank bills during this period, however no cognizance has been taken of them in this article.

## FORT McARTHUR.

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[The following address delivered by the late Dr. A. W. Munson on Memorial day of 1895, at Shingle Grove, near Ft. McArthur burying ground was read at a recent D. A. R. meeting in Kenton, and will be especially interesting to our readers now, as this year (1912) marks the centennial of the founding of the old fort.]

*Comrades and Friends:*— We have met here on this pleasant afternoon of May 30, 1895, in this beautiful grove, beneath these grand forest trees, around these graves to do honor to the memory of those who were buried here more than 80 years ago. I know that there are those who are disposed to doubt the correctness of the position assumed by most, if not all the members of "Pap Thomas' Command" of Union Veteran Union of our city, viz.: That these graves contain the remains of soldiers who died here at the post of duty as defenders of our country in the war of 1812. Now if this assumption be true then it is highly proper that the memory of these heroes should receive the same consideration that the other defenders of our country are receiving.

To establish the correctness of this proposition I will ask you to bear with me for a short time while I refer to some of the more important historical events, which will, no doubt, sustain the foregoing assumption to the satisfaction of all present.

At the commencement of the war of 1812 this whole region was a vast and dense forest, not a single white inhabitant was found in all the territory now embraced within the limits of this county. Numerous tribes of Indians were scattered over the great northwest many of whom were hostile and engaged in committing depredations upon the defenseless frontier settlers. So alarming had become the attitude of both Indian and British emissaries towards the frontier inhabitants that Gov. Meigs, of Ohio, called out the Militia early as May 1812, and the 1st Regiment under Col. McArthur was stationed at Urbana while other troops were quartered at Dayton.

Gov. Shelby, of Kentucky, at the same time called the troops of that state and they were also stationed at Dayton, Ohio. William Hull, who was then Governor of the Territory of Michigan, and who had been a valiant officer in the Revolutionary War was appointed a Brigadier-General and given command of all the Ohio and Kentucky troops. The hostile attitude of the British and Indians along the Canadian frontier became so alarming that Gov. Hull decided to move his army to Detroit for the defense of that post. To accomplish this it became necessary that he should march his army through the dense forest from Dayton to Detroit. This course having been decided upon, Gov. Meigs dispatched Col. Duncan McArthur with his troops, to open the way for Hull's army. He succeeded in cutting the way as far as the Scioto river and by the 9th of June he had completed a block house and stockade on the south bank of that stream and named it Ft. McArthur.

This fort was located about a mile from this place, down the river and on the opposite side. General Hull arrived with his army at Fort McArthur on the 19th day of June and proceeded on his way to Detroit, cutting a passage for his troops through the dense forest. This road was ever afterwards known to the people of this country as "Hull's Trail." In 1838, only 26 years after it was opened, I often passed along and across it. A thick growth of underbrush marked its course. Hull's army arrived the first evening at a point about 3 miles northwest from the village of Dunkirk and built a stockade and called it "Mud Fort" in honor, I suppose, of the nature of the soil upon which it was built. In the fall of 1838 I visited this fort. A family named Hodge lived there for many years afterward. Hull arrived with his army at Detroit early in July and in August thereafter he surrendered his whole army and the post at Detroit to the British and Indians under the British General Proctor. The surrender was made against the vigorous protest of his subordinate officers, viz.: Cols. McArthur, Findlay and Cass.

The news of this disaster spread consternation among the people of Ohio and volunteers were called for to march to the defense of the north-western frontier. Gen. Edward W. Tupper,

of Gallia County, organized a force of 1000 men and on the 30th of August had them concentrated at Urbana, ready to march.

Here let me read an extract of a letter he wrote to Gov. Meigs at that time:

Gov. MEIGS,

"URBANA, Aug. 30, 1812.

SIR:—With all the exertion we could make we are not in a situation to make a campaign in the wilderness. When I issued orders for an immediate preparation for a march I caused an examination of the public arms, and although two officers have been employed ever since we arrived here, there are still 30 rifles and 20 muskets awaiting repairs. We have no tents, few camp kettles, many blankets wanting, and no pay for the soldiers, yet they are ready to risk their lives in any perilous situation."

General Tupper, following Hull's Trail marched his little army past Fort McArthur and arrived at the Maumee Rapids, and encountered a large force of Indians and engaged them in battle. He attempted to cross the river but the enfeebled and half starved condition of his men rendered it impossible to stem the rapid current of the river, and he was forced to retrace his steps, and, with his wounded and sick, marched back to camp near Fort McArthur, arriving there the latter part of October. I know that some persons think there was but one encampment here and that was at the Fort on the south side of the river.

I believe the following extracts from letters written by Gen. Tupper will settle that question and convince any one that there was a camp near "McArthur Block House." A small garrison under Capt. McClelland, was stationed at Fort McArthur, and no doubt those who died at the fort were buried nearby, but all evidence of those graves have long since disappeared by the cultivation of the grounds.

Upon his return from the Maumee, in October, he went into camp on yonder little hillside, his camp extending down into yonder little ravine, where a spring of good water was found, the same that is now seen by the side of yonder road. From this camp he wrote to Gov. Meigs as follows:

"CAMP NEAR McARTHUR BLOCK HOUSE,

November 9, 1812.

SIR: Since writing to you this morning a circumstance has occurred which makes another communication necessary. I ordered Capt. Hinkton to the rapids with his company of spies, and with orders to take a prisoner if possible. He has just returned and brought with him Capt. Clark, a British subject who was out with a party of about 500 Indians and fifty British with two gun boats, six bateaux and one small schooner at the foot of the rapids. Capt. Clark had just arrived with the van of the detachment. The rafts had not yet anchored when the spies surprised him and brought him off undiscovered. At the same time several of Capt. Hinkton's spies lay concealed on the bank, within five rods of the place where some of the first boats were landing. Capt. Clark was taken prisoner on the 7th, a little before sunset. He informs me that the forces contemplate remaining there from ten to fifteen days. I know not, sir, whether it will meet your approbation or that of our commander-in-chief, but I have ordered every man in the brigade who does not fear the fatigue of a rapid march and is in condition to perform it, to draw five days' provisions and march with me for the rapids in the morning, taking nothing with them but their provisions, knapsacks and blankets. Although the forces will not exceed 650, I am convinced it is sufficient to rout the forces now at the rapids and save the greater part of the corn which is all important to us.

A moment was not to be lost. We shall be at the rapids in three days. I write you in great haste. The preparations making our march will employ me the whole night. I shall not take with me a man but such as shall volunteer their services. I have apprised them that they have to endure hunger, fatigue, difficulties and dangers such as peril of their lives, and encounter the sufferings of a rapid march on short rations.

EDWARD W. TUPPER,  
*Brig. Gen., Ohio Quarters.*

To his Excellency,

R. J. MEIGS, Gov. of Ohio.

Such, my fiends, was the indomitable courage of the volunteer Ohio soldiers of the war of 1812. Do they not compare favorably with the veterans of the war of 1861 to 1865? Such was the spirit of those who sleep in these graves; are they not entitled to the same honorable recognition as those of the latter war? Gen. Tupper returned from this expedition to his camp here, and on December he writes Gov. Meigs as follows:

“CAMP NEAR McARTHUR BLOCK HOUSE,  
December 8, 1812.

DEAR SIR:—I have been compelled to send for a supply of medicine, owing in part to our medicine chests been crushed by the falling of a tree, and in part to the great consumption necessary for the uncommon swelling of our sick list. I have directed the express by Franklinton, that they may, if possible, be drawn from the hospital stores at that place. If they cannot be, I must beg of you to take measures to have us supplied. Our sick list this morning amounts to 229, about 13 of whom are considered dangerous, but all the others require medicine and those added to the men who can not do duty for want of clothing will give you a melancholy future for camp. Our great number of sick arose from the situation of our camp. Owing to the flatness of the face of the country at this place, we cannot get a camp in proper form, without taking in ground where other water settles. Indeed I have seen sentinels standing in mud and water half leg deep. This and the dampness of our tents here creates colds which fall heavily on the lungs, often producing fevers, and in all cases render the men unfit for duty. The situation of the men as to clothing is really distressing. You will see many of them wading through the snow and mud almost barefooted and half naked. We have not more than five blankets for six men. Not half of the men have a change of pantaloons and linen.

E. W. TUPPER”.

You old comrades can appreciate such a situation, can't you? Let us stop for a moment and reflect. These men were held in the wilderness, the only means of communication was by courier and horse, with no road save a trail through the forest. The nearest place where the supplies referred to could be obtained was at Franklinton, a distance of over 70 miles, and possibly none could be obtained nearer than Chillicothe, about 150 miles away. How long do you suppose it would require a man on horseback to make such a journey—many days at least, and during that time the sick soldiers must suffer on without medical relief.

These scenes were enacted just over on the side of yonder little hill, amid the great, dense forest. The actors in this drama were soldiers—boys, who had voluntarily left home, friends and all, and marched into the great wilderness to defend our country from the savages of the forest and the tyranny of British oppression. Does any one suppose for a moment that none of those soldiers fell a victim to the ravages of the diseases so vividly depicted to the Governor of the state by their commander?

Do you suppose that some died, and what do you suppose was done with their dead bodies? Why, the only rational answer is, they were buried near their camp, and that was here in these graves amid the forest trees—buried by their comrades in their rude coffins made of puncheons split from the forest trees. That their coffins consisted of puncheons split from forest trees there is no doubt. I have here in my hand a small piece taken from the grave just by that black walnut stump. I, in company with Capt. Parrot and others, made an examination of that grave to settle the question as to the identity of these little mounds, and there beneath a large walnut tree which had grown since that grave was made the skeleton of a human being was found which had lain there for over eighty years.

I said in the fore part of this address that at the time of the war of 1812 there were no white inhabitants in all this wilderness country. It was some years after the close of the war before any white settlers were located near this place. About 1820 Alfred Hale, and his family settled at Ft. McArthur and remained a few years during which time two members of the family died and were buried near the fort on the south side of the river.

The first cemetery to be used by the early settlers in this part of the country was located about a mile east of this place, a short distance north of the river.

A number of the early settlers were buried there, and although the ground is enclosed at this time and is preserved as a cemetery, it is in a dilapidated condition, none having been buried there for some time.

Now, comrades and friends, I hope and believe from what has been disclosed here today, none will hereafter doubt that these graves are the last resting places of soldiers of 1812, who died in camp near here in the discharge of their duty, and were by their comrades buried in these graves, and that all belief or suspicion that they may be the graves of some white settlers will be forever dispelled. It is, therefore, highly proper that this memory of these dead soldiers each year hereafter receive the same recognition that our other heroic dead are receiving.

[On July 4, (1912), under the auspices of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Hardin county, exercises commemorative of the Hundredth Anniversary of the building of Fort McArthur, were held in a grove nearby the site of the fort. A large crowd of adjacent residents assembled and listened to an address by E. O. Randall descriptive of the fort and the circumstances attendant upon its erection and history. Colonel Tecumseh Cessna presided and remarks were made by Hon. J. D. Pumphrey and Hon. F. D. Hurch.]

## EDITORIALANA.

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APRIL & JULY, 1912.

*E.O. Randall*

### PRELIMINARY ANNUAL MEETING.

On May 14, 1912, the following circular was issued to the members of the Society:

"According to the provisions of the Constitution of the Society, the Annual Meeting of the Society should be held not later than the last day of May. It is earnestly desired that the Annual Meeting this year be deferred until after the bids have been received and, if possible, the contracts made with the builders for the erection of the building for the Society at Columbus and the Hayes Memorial Building at Fremont. It is therefore proposed that a sufficient number of the members of the Society to constitute a quorum meet at the offices of The Ohio State Savings Association, 44 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio, at 2:00 P. M., Saturday, May 25, 1912, at which time those present may technically comply with the requirements of the Annual Meeting and then adjourn further proceedings of the Annual Meeting until such later day as may be agreed upon.

"This notice is sent you that you may be present at the meeting of May 25th, if you so desire, but a later notice will be sent you of the adjourned meeting, at which time the regular routine of the Annual Meeting will be carried out.

"G. FREDERICK WRIGHT,  
"President.

E. O. RANDALL,  
"Secretary."

In accordance with the foregoing announcement there met at the place designated, 44 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio, at 2:00 P. M., May 25, 1912, the following members of the Society: G. F. Bareis, A. J. Baughman, T. B. Bowers, H. E. Buck, C. H. Gallup, J. W. Harper, W. C. Mills, E. O. Randall, D. J. Ryan, L. P. Schaus, John Siebert, H. A. Thompson and E. F. Wood.

The number of members present was sufficient to constitute a legal quorum, the number of which is ten. Vice President Bareis presided at this preliminary meeting, in the absence of Dr. Wright. Secretary Randall fully explained the reason for calling this preliminary meeting and stated that such business could be transacted as might be necessary,

and that the meeting could then adjourn to such time or in such way that it could be reconvened for the further business of the Annual Meeting. After some discussion of this matter, a resolution was offered that when the present meeting concludes such business as is necessary for its present consideration and is prepared to recess, that it recess to a second session which is to be called at such date and place as shall be determined by the present President and Secretary of the Society, and that at the recessed session the minutes and annual reports be read and other regular business be transacted as shall pertain to the Annual Meeting. This resolution was unanimously adopted.

After the presentation and consideration of certain matters of general nature to the Society, and proper action thereon, the preliminary session of the Annual Meeting was adjourned at 3:00 o'clock, subject to the second session as provided for above.

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#### BANQUET TO DR. VENABLE.

On the evening of Friday, April 26, (1912) men of learning from all parts of Ohio assembled in the banquet hall of the Business Men's Club, Cincinnati, to greet and do honor to Dr. William Henry Venable, the leading author and educator, born and still resident in Ohio. The occasion was the eve of the seventy-sixth birthday of the distinguished guest. The banquet was under the auspices of the Ohio Valley Historical Society of which Dr. Venable has been a member since its organization some five years ago.

The affair was presided over by Harry Brent Mackoy, who early in the evening made an address eulogizing the works of the guest of honor. In his opening remarks he referred to Dr. Venable as a maker as well as a writer of history.

Dr. Venable in modest demeanor told how appreciative he was of their tribute and expressed his deepest affections for his friends and coworkers, who as well as he had so greatly added to the happiness and advancement of their state.

When he had finished his address the guests arose and drank a toast to him and wished that he might live many years to enjoy the fruition of his life's endeavor.

Mr. Mackoy then introduced Charles T. Greve, who had charge of the arrangement of the affair and who was to act as toastmaster. Mr. Greve made a touching address in which he said that Dr. Venable was one of the foremost Ohioans, and to be a foremost Ohioan was to be a foremost American.

The first speaker he called on was Dr. Dabney, president of the University of Cincinnati, who responded to the call of the toastmaster,

paying high tribute to the works of Dr. Venable. He expressed his pride in being a member of a community in which the name of Venable meant so much. Dr. Dabney told in what high regard the name Venable was held down in Virginia, where he came from and where the name was a synonym for greatness.

Toastmaster Greve read missives from men of letters from all parts of the United States, including a glowing tribute to the honored guest from James Whitcomb Riley.

Emilius O. Randall was the next speaker. He came from Columbus to attend the banquet and declared that the life was richest that had dealt most with literature. Like his predecessors, he paid tribute to the work of Dr. Venable as historian and poet.

Several others made addresses. Among them were Dr. Dyer, superintendent of the public schools; Archer B. Hulbert, a professor in the college at Marietta; Dr. Charles Frederic Goss, Frank P. Goodwin and others. They all reminisced over this man's life, telling those incidents which had endeared him to them.

Dr. Venable is a native of Warren county, O., where he received his education at the little red brick school, later finishing his work in the National Normal University. He married Mary Ann Vater of Indianapolis. He was for many years proprietor of the Chickering institute of Cincinnati. He enjoys the distinction of having organized the Society for Political Education. He was the first president of the Teachers' Society of Ohio. He lives in Tusculum.

Among those present at the banquet were the following:

Alfred H. Allen, Dr. Sam E. Allen, W. Harvey Anderson, Harry T. Atkins, Dr. S. C. Ayres, Albert Bettinger, Dr. E. R. Booth, Dr. M. B. Brady, Prof. J. E. Bradford, Miami University; C. J. Brooks, Dr. J. D. Buck, P. J. Cadwalader, Dr. C. E. Caldwell, Ralph Caldwell, Dr. Otis L. Cameron, Lawrence C. Carr, Dr. Arch. I. Carson, S. F. Carey, Davis W. Clark, A. J. Conroy, O. T. Corson, Columbus, O.; Rev. M. Crosley, Brooksville, Ind.; Dr. Chas. W. Dabney, Charles J. Davis, Judge David Davis, Walter A. DeCamp, Dr. J. E. Douglas, Dr. F. B. Dyer, Edward S. Ebbert, Challen B. Ellis, Richard P. Ernst, M. J. Flannery, Hamilton, O.; F. L. Flinchbaugh, Wm. Lytle Foster, John Gates, Frank P. Goodwin, Judge F. H. Gorman, T. W. Gosling, Dr. Charles F. Goss, Charles T. Greve, Dr. E. E. Harcourt, A. S. Henshaw, Alexander Hill, N. D. C. Hodges, Dr. C. R. Holmes, Lewis G. Hopkins, Jerome B. Howard, W. T. Howe, Prof. Archer B. Hulbert, Marietta college, Davis L. James, Simeon H. Johnson, Dr. Otto Juettner, John S. Kidd, Leopold Kleybolte, Dr. Albert A. Kumler, John Ledyard Lincoln, Harry M. Levy, John Uri Lloyd, S. T. Logan, E. D. Lyon, E. F. Macke, Harry B. Mackoy, W. H. Mackoy, John H. Miller, Prof. P. V. N. Myers, Rabbi David Philipson, John J. Piatt, North Bend; E. O. Randall, Columbus, O.; C. D. Robertson, Caspar H. Rowe, Daniel J.

Ryan, Columbus, O.; C. E. Schenk, J. R. Schindel, Murray Seasongood, Frank H. Schaffer, D. H. T. Smith, Rufus B. Smith, Dr. R. W. Stewart, Thomas T. Swift, G. S. Sykes, Rev. Geo. A. Thayer, Bryant Venable, Emerson Venable, R. O. Venable, Dr. Chas. E. Walton, J. W. Washington, F. B. Wiborg, J. O. White, Charles B. Wilby, Joseph Wilby, John F. Winslow, Isidor Wise, Paul Wisenall, E. J. Wohlgemuth, Everett I. Yowell.

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#### MARTIN DEWEY FOLLETT.

Judge M. D. Follett, one of the organizers of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, a life member and beginning in 1895 for some ten years a trustee, died at his home in Marietta, Ohio, August 22, 1911.

Concerning his distinguished life we quote from a memorial published by the Washington County Bar Association of which for many years he was a most eminent member.

Martin Dewey Follett was born in Enosburg, Franklin county, Vermont, October 8, 1826, the son of Captain John Fassett Follett and grandson of Martin Dewey Follett. Many members of his family had risen to prominence in colonial and revolutionary times. In 1836 his father, with his wife and nine children, came west and settled on a farm in Licking county, Ohio, where the subject of our sketch grew to manhood. Having taught school for several years, he entered Marietta college and graduated, with highest honors, in the class of 1853—having completed the required course in two years. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and three years later was further honored by having conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts. After being graduated he taught for one year in the high school at Newark, Ohio, and for two years in the academy and public schools at Marietta, Ohio, and in 1856 was elected superintendent of the local schools, which he served two years.

In 1856 he married Miss Harriet L. Shipman, of Marietta, Ohio, to whom were born four children, all of whom are deceased except Mr. Alfred Dewey Follett, a member of this bar. Judge Follett was married a second time in 1875 to Miss Abbie M. Bailey, of Lowell, Mass., to whom was born one son, Edward B. Follett, a judge of the court of common pleas of this district.

Judge Follett was admitted to the bar in 1858, at the time of his death being the oldest member of the bar association, in point of service; Mr. R. M. Stimson having been admitted in 1849, but never practiced; and R. K. Shaw, who was admitted in 1855 in New York, but came to Marietta in 1860. At the October election in 1883, Judge Follett was elected to the Supreme Court of Ohio and served there from

December 8, 1883, until February 9, 1888. While a member of the Supreme Court he established a reputation for industry and judicial ability which was recognized by the profession throughout the state. His opinions are found in volumes 42, 43 and 44, Ohio State Reports. He was associated upon the bench with such men as George W. McIlvane, Selwyn N. Owen, John W. Okey and Franklin J. Dickman, and at the end of his term with present Chief Justice William T. Spear, who began his career upon the Supreme bench in 1885.

Politically, Judge Follett was a sincere and loyal member of the Democratic party; in 1864 he served his party as delegate in the national convention which nominated Gen. George B. McClellan for the presidency; twice, in 1866 and 1868, he was the party nominee for congressman from this district. He took much interest in matters of local government and exerted wide influence upon its affairs.

He was distinctively a humanitarian. Since 1879, when Governor Bishop sent him as a delegate from Ohio to the National Conference of Charities at Chicago, and Governor Foster the following year to Cleveland, he had devoted much time and study toward the improvement of conditions for the criminal and insane. As a member of the board of state charities, he has been largely instrumental in bringing the penal, reformatory and charitable institutions of Ohio to the high standard of present attainment. The new hospital to be erected at Lima for the care of the criminal insane can be directly traced to the influence which Judge Follett has wielded for many years upon the state's policy of caring for its unfortunate. Surely, in this respect he has aided in establishing the Kingdom through this modern expression of the brotherhood of man.

In giving an estimate of the services of Judge Follett, we may lay emphasis upon the fact that he was a true friend of education. Himself educated, wisely informed, a teacher, he saw the importance all along the line of lifting education above the bread and butter standard. He served on the board of trustees of Marietta college for many years; and upon the local board of education; he was a charter member of, and until his death a faithful attendant upon, the Marietta Reading Club. Likewise, he conceived the law as a profession rather than a business, and never lost interest in the meetings of the Ohio State Bar Association and in the American Bar Association, of which he was a member and to which, upon important committees, he rendered valuable services.

As a man, Judge Follett possessed an interesting and strong personality; as a citizen, he was ever willing to assume his full share of the burden of public service; as a lawyer, he was successful, always faithful to his client, and honorable; and as a Christian, a faithful attendant upon the services of the First Congregational Church and in his daily life loyal to his religious convictions.

## ROBERT WHITE McFARLAND.

The Faculty of the Ohio State University, as a mark of respect, and wishing to preserve in some permanent form a simple record of the life of its late member and associate, Robert White McFarland, who died at his home, Oxford, Ohio, October 23, 1910, prepared the following memorial:

Professor McFarland was born in Champaign county, Ohio, June 16, 1825, and was a descendant of Simon Kenton. He graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1847, and for four years thereafter taught in schools and academies. Mathematics was his favorite study, but he also excelled in languages and he not only taught Latin and Greek, but in his young manhood, prepared and published text books in these languages.

In all his later years as teacher he was interested in pure mathematics, astronomy and civil engineering. From 1851 to 1856 he taught in Madison College at Antrim, Ohio. He was then elected to the chair of mathematics in Miami University at Oxford, which he held until the University was closed in 1873. Just at that time the State University, then called the "Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College," was established, Professor McFarland was called to the chair of mathematics and engineering, and remained there continuously until 1885, returning to Miami University as its president when it was reopened in that year.

Three years later he retired from educational work, and thereafter devoted his time to engineering. While at the State University he held, from 1881 to 1885, the position of engineer inspector of railroads under the late Commissioner of Railroads, Hylas Sabine, examining bridges and other structures as to their safety.

When the Civil War broke out he organized a company among the students of Miami University, of which he became the captain, this company was attached to the Eighty-sixth O. V. I., in which regiment he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. It was because of this military service and experience that he was made the first instructor in military science and tactics in the State University.

Professor McFarland was a born teacher, and had an unwearying love for the work of instruction. Trained in the military habit, his plans of work were clear and detailed, his decisions quick and firm, his manner and speech gentle but authoritative.

As a teacher he was respected and revered by all students who were there to do good work. He had an unusual faculty of making the subject he was teaching interesting, and that necessary quality in a good teacher—the ability to get and hold the attention of his students.

In his work he insisted on brevity and accuracy, and many a student has demonstrated a proposition by a long method and train of

reasoning, in his class room, only to be shown at the close how he could have reached the same result by a much shorter process.

Professor McFarland was a man of royal parts. An enthusiast by nature, he had the wisdom of a man of affairs. His genial temper, his promptness in action, together with a certain dignity of manner, and a genuine manliness of character, won the respect and esteem of all who knew him.

As an associate, his cordial sympathy and unfailing courtesy were always evident. Although impelled by definite convictions he was broad minded and tolerant. He believed that "above all sects is truth" and "above all nations is humanity."

In all the relations of life he moved upon a high plane, and not only experienced but exemplified the better qualities of our nature. Of him it may well be said that his life is a record of generous deeds and useful service.

Signed,

WILLIAM RANE LAZENBY,  
JOSIAH R. SMITH,  
*Committee.*

Professor McFarland was one of the earliest life members of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and took an ever increasing interest and active part in its work and growth. His life reached back into personal touch with many who were associated with the events of pioneer Ohio history. No one of his cotemporaries was so versed in the Indian lore of the state, and there appeared in the pages of the Society's publications many most valuable articles concerning the first settlers of the state and its historic incidents connected therewith. He possessed a marvelous and accurate memory and especially delighted in reviewing the historical productions of others and in correcting their errors and in putting on record data that otherwise would have been lost to the present and future generations. Professor McFarland was widely read in general literature, a writer with a scholastic style and the author of many productions of a permanent nature. When a young man he published an annotated edition of the six books of Virgil. As a student of astronomy he took high rank and computed the perihelion and eccentricity of the earth's orbit for a period of 4,520,000.

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EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON.

Joseph B. Doyle of Steubenville, Ohio, is the author of a volume of some four hundred pages of the Life and Work of that distinguished son of Ohio, Edwin M. Stanton, whose fame will continue side by side with that of the martyr President Abraham Lincoln, whose secretary of war

and right arm, the iron-willed Stanton was. Extensive and almost exhaustive biographies of Stanton have already appeared, such as those by H. C. Gorham and Frank A. Flower, respectively. This latest brief biography of Stanton, as Mr. Doyle states, was "prepared in connection with the dedication of the first statue to his memory." Edwin M. Stanton was born in Steubenville, December 19, 1814, was United States Attorney General, 1860-1861; Secretary of War, 1862-1868; Justice of United States Supreme Court, 1869; died in Washington, D. C., December 24, 1869, only a month after his appointment by President Grant to the supreme court and before he was permitted to take his seat in that greatest of tribunals.

A movement toward the erection of a fitting monument, at his birthplace, was inaugurated in Steubenville at the Jefferson County Centennial Anniversary, August 25, 1897. This laudable purpose met its accomplishment on September 7, 1911, when after three days' preliminary exercises the ceremony of the unveiling of the statue was completed. The statue is a massive bronze figure of the great war secretary, standing upon a granite pedestal. The sculptor is another distinguished son of Ohio, Mr. Alexander Doyle of Steubenville, creative artist of many famous statues, among them that of Margaret Haughry, New Orleans, the first statue to a woman erected in this country.

Mr. Joseph B. Doyle was eminently qualified by residence, mental attainments and sympathetic tendencies to write the life and work of his fellow-townsman, and admirably has he performed his task, herculean and exacting though it may have been. The author's scholarly knowledge of American history, his discriminating judgment of men, enabled him to produce the environment and "stage settings" for the life and action of his hero, with unusual vividness and interest. It is a most readable book and one enjoyable both by the elder generation, whose members look back upon the scenes of a great epoch, and by the youth of our state and country, who can know the immortal figures of the Civil War period, as they only knew the figures of ancient days, that is through the pages of history.

Stanton came from Quaker stock and William Dean Howells, who was for a time his boyhood schoolmate, says he was "delicate physically, grave and studious, with a religious disposition." His father died in 1827, leaving the boy, then just entering his teens, to not only make his own way in the wide world, but aid his widowed mother, whose only inheritance was four small children and few worldly goods. How bravely the boy Edwin made the fight of life for himself under the untoward auspices, Mr. Doyle entertainingly relates. By dint of sacrifice and hard work, Edwin entered Kenyon College and worked his way for two years, when the necessities of his mother and her three younger children, demanded the aid of the college boy. His initiation into politics was in the Adams-Jackson presidential contest (1824-5). Stanton "went over

to Jackson," and until he took his seat in Lincoln's cabinet was "conspicuous as an uncompromising Democrat." It was a strange political affiliation for Stanton's ancestry, temperament and training were "abolitionistic." The formative period of Stanton's political proclivities is examined with interesting detail by the author, and his second chapter, entitled: "Professional Career," presents an excellent summary of the history of political strife in the north, leading up to the pre-war years. Then come "Secession Clouds" and the "Beginning of the Conflict," and the position of Stanton, the lawyer, therein. Of Stanton's first meeting with Lincoln, at Cincinnati, in the famous McCormick patent case, Mr. Doyle says:

"We have referred to this case as the first meeting of Stanton and Lincoln. When the attorneys came together at the Burnett House in Cincinnati for consultation Stanton was not favorably impressed with the long, lanky, not to say, uncouth attorney from Illinois, and did not hesitate to make his contempt apparent, and during the progress of the case, in court and out, he appeared to be highly appreciative of Mr. Lincoln's blue cotton umbrella, and his illfitting garments. He curtly ruled him out from arguing the case, but, as we have said, this did not prevent Mr. Lincoln from remaining and listening to the suit, after which he gave Stanton his full meed of praise. But shortly before the final submission of the case, Mr. Lincoln called at the room of their associated counsel, one of whom is authority for this additional history not hitherto published, and said to him: 'You must have noticed that Mr. Stanton is determined that I shall not make an argument in this case.' I think I should have the courage to insist upon doing so if I were satisfied that the interests of our clients required it. I think, however, that they do not for the reason that I have here reduced to writing the substance of all that I would say, and possibly, it is better said here.'

"This gentleman read the argument and concluded that it was the most masterful review and condensation of the whole case that was possible, and passed it up to the court with the other papers. He says, that according to his recollection of the paper it contained the bone and sinews of the opinion of the court delivered in this case. In March, 1861, this same gentleman was in Washington City on professional business and was stopping at Willard's Hotel. When Mr. Lincoln came there to be inaugurated he hesitated about calling on him lest it might bring back unpleasant recollections of the Cincinnati episode. He had about concluded not to call, when he received a note from Mr. Lincoln, who had in some way learned that he was at the hotel, inviting him to his room. When he arrived there he had a conversation with Mr. Lincoln, who addressed him substantially as follows: 'I am about to do that for which I seem

to owe an explanation to all the people of the United States. I can make it to no one but you. Mr. Stanton, as you know, has been serving conspicuously in the cabinet of Mr. Buchanan, faithful among the faithless. There is a common appreciation of his ability and fidelity, and a common expectation that I will take him into my cabinet, but you know that I could not possibly, consistently with my selfrespect, pursue that course in view of his personal treatment of me at Cincinnati.' About a year later this same attorney met Mr. Lincoln in Washington, when the latter said to him: 'I am about to do an act for which I owe no explanation to any man, woman or child in the United States except you. You know the War Department has demonstrated the great necessity for a Secretary of Mr. Stanton's great ability, and I have made up my mind to sit down on all my pride, it may be a portion of my selfrespect, and appoint him to the place.'

We cannot follow the pages of Mr. Doyle in close review as they deserve. From the entrance of Stanton into Lincoln's cabinet, his career is inseparably entwined with that of the great martyr president. It is well known history, but Mr. Doyle's contribution thereto is worthy of perusal, and no more faithful account is known to us. The analysis of Stanton's character and portrayal of his characteristics, and the contrasts of the latter with those of Lincoln form fascinating reading. Nowhere in American history is there the equal of the relations of these two intellectual giants, their differences and diplomatic handling of each other; the iron and merciless firmness of the one and gentle, peace-seeking tenderness of the other in constant foil; they complemented one another, each was necessary to the other, and their association at the head of the government in the time of its greatest crisis was providential. Stanton who had been at the outset a severe critic of the president, gradually learned to appreciate his great qualities of mind and heart, and the last scene in which they both took part was that at the death-bed of the immortal Lincoln; says Mr. Doyle:

"At 7:22 on the morning of the 15th the spirit of the martyred President took its flight, and Stanton as he drew the blinds uttered these memorable words: 'He now belongs to the ages.' Col. A. F. Rockwell, one of the spectators of the closing scene, says:

'During the twenty minutes preceding the death of the President, Mr. Stanton stood quite motionless, leaning his chin upon his left hand, his right hand holding his hat and supporting his left elbow, the tears falling continually.'

**Mr. Doyle's work is published under the auspices of The Stanton Monument Association, and printed by The Herald Printing Company, Steubenville, Ohio.**

## DANIEL DRAKE AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

Dr. Otto Juettner, a physician of high standing, author of "Modern Physio-therapy" and editor of "Songs of the University of Cincinnati," has put forth a pretentious volume on "Daniel Drake and His Followers." It is a valuable contribution to the bibliographical and historical literature of Ohio. The author in his Foreword announces: "This book contains the story of some of the great architects of yesterday, who laid the foundation of and helped to build the stately edifice of Western medicine. A few years ago I picked up Mansfield's 'Memoirs of Daniel Drake,' and was completely fascinated by the character and the life of Drake. Posterity has done nothing for this great man. He seems to be entirely forgotten. To hold up the mirror of the past to the present generation was the motive which primarily suggested the writing of this book."

And right well has the author held up the mirror.

Daniel Drake was an eminent physician, a prolific writer and versatile genius. Daniel Drake was born in New Jersey, October 20, 1785. Some two and a half years later, the parents with the boy, moved to the new settlement of Mayslick, Kentucky, and here "it was that Daniel grew up in the bosom of nature, the child of simple and pure-minded country folk." The boyhood life of Daniel in the western wild is the oft-told story of privation, struggle with nature and the aboriginal inhabitants, a story always tinged with tragedy, romance and adventure. It was a life of hard labor, clearing the forest and coaxing a meagre livelihood from the soil. Daniel had the intellectual propensity, which could not be stifled, and he picked up such slight "larnin'" as his environment afforded: "His Alma Mater was the forest, his teacher nature, his classmates birds, squirrels and wild flowers." At the age of thirteen the boy "made up his mind" to become a doctor. On December 16, 1800, accompanied by his father he slowly rode horseback to Cincinnati, where he was placed in the home of Dr. William Goforth, who was to be his preceptor. Dr. Goforth was then a leading physician of the infant city—having 750 inhabitants—and one of the distinguished pioneers of his day, the first physician in the West to practice vaccination; he received cow-pock from England in 1800, the year of Daniel's arrival as a student, and Daniel was the first one in Cincinnati who submitted to vaccination. Drake served his four years' apprenticeship under Dr. Goforth who in the summer of 1805 presented his successful pupil with a "diploma," the "first issued west of the Alleghenies on any student of medicine." After a few months' attendance upon lectures in Philadelphia, the young doctor began his practice in Cincinnati and "soon acquired the patronage of the best families in the town," becoming, says Dr. Juettner, "the most liberal of all her benefactors, the most brilliant of her gifted sons, the one really great man she has produced." In 1810 Daniel Drake appeared as an author, publishing a booklet setting forth his observations under the title of "Notices of

Cincinnati, its Topography, Climate and Diseases." This was followed five years later by that little volume so rare and so prized by the book collectors, the "Natural and Statistical View or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country, illustrated by maps, with an appendix containing observations on the late earthquakes, the Aurora Borealis and southwest wind." It was the first book written by a Cincinnatian. This book "excited a great deal of interest in the East and even on the Continent of Europe, where parts of it were translated for the benefit of people who contemplated emigrating to America."

In 1817 Drake became a medical teacher in the Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky., a town then known as the "Athens of the West."

In 1818 Dr. Drake was the protagonist of a plan to establish the Medical College of Ohio, at Cincinnati. It was duly inaugurated and Dr. Drake was made president of the Faculty. But we cannot follow in detail the forceful and fruitful career of this accomplished man, who became so conspicuous as a physician and an author. After a most eventful and interesting career, Dr. Daniel Drake died, at Cincinnati, December 16, 1852. His life and its achievements are worthily related in the delightful pages of Dr. Juettner's book, which also contains the biographical sketches of many of the leading Ohio physicians.

The work, which will be especially valuable and interesting to members of the medical profession, is amply illustrated. It is from the press of the Harvey Publishing Company, Cincinnati.

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#### A NEW LIFE OF TECUMSEH.

Benjamin Drake, brother of Daniel Drake, whose biography by Dr. Juettner is noticed in the preceding pages of this Quarterly, was the first one to make an extensive study of the life of Tecumseh, the greatest member of the Shawnee tribe and perhaps, all things considered, the greatest of his race. Benjamin Drake, a resident of Cincinnati for many years, previous to 1830 began gathering material relative to the life of Tecumseh. Drake visited the scenes of Tecumseh's activities and conversed with many whose lives at that time reached back into the days of the great chief. Drake's life is therefore not only the earliest but the standard authority in this subject. The hundreds of letters and documents collected by Drake, concerning the Indian chief, are now carefully preserved and easily accessible to students, in the Draper Manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Society Library, at Madison, Wis., where they were examined by the editor of this Quarterly while preparing his monograph on Tecumseh, published in Volume XV of the Society Annuals. Benjamin Drake's Tecumseh was first issued from the press in 1841, in Cincinnati, and is a book eagerly

sought by collectors of Ohioana. The only other pretentious writing on this theme is the very exhaustive essay on "Tecumseh" in the volume entitled "Heroes of Defeat," by Colonel William J. Armstrong, published some seven years past. Mr. Armstrong is known as the "artist historian" and his Tecumseh essay is a brilliant and scenic account of the incomparable chief.

We are now favored with a new publication on this historic subject by Norman S. Gurd of Sarnia, Canada. This volume of some two hundred pages, from the press of William Briggs, Toronto, is entitled the "Story of Tecumseh," and is one of a number of similar works in the "Canadian Heroes Series." Mr. Gurd, a barrister and solicitor at law, has entered upon his task with evident enthusiasm and at the same time with a thorough appreciation of the difficulties in obtaining the definite data required for a strictly accurate accomplishment of his purpose. Mr. Gurd has devoted some three years of labor upon this volume and the result is a justification of his efforts. Besides the material easily obtained, as mentioned above, Mr. Gurd had the use of some original data, particularly in the official Canadian archives. The book is written for popular reading rather than for critical scholars, indeed it is primarily prepared for the younger reader and the author is happy in his style and treatment of material for that class of patrons. This production has an interest peculiarly its own as the author contemplates his subject from the British point of view. Mr. Gurd entertainingly follows the early childhood and youth of Tecumseh, dwelling upon his forest education for the duties of peace and the exigencies of war. His descriptions of the customs and life of the Indian are especially explicit and picturesque. Tecumseh was early initiated into the bloody scenes, on the Scioto and Miamis, that characterized the racial war for the possession of the Ohio country. The Shawnee appears, as the aid of Little Turtle, in the Indian resistance to the expeditions of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. At the battle of Fallen Timbers the Shawnee led his tribal contingent, some 350 strong, and was one of the last to yield the field. He would not acquiesce in the Treaty of Greenville, which he ever after hated and denounced. During the period between the Greenville Treaty, marking the close of the Ohio war, and the preliminary events of the War of 1812, Tecumseh wandered far amid the forest tribes, visiting the wigwam centers, from the banks of the Missouri to the Everglades of Florida. Everywhere he was greeted with audiences of the braves who were stirred by his oratory in which he denounced the encroachments of the whites and urged universal and simultaneous warfare upon the white settlements. Mr. Gurd graphically portrays "The Council at Old Vincennes," when, in 1810, General Harrison, then Governor of the Indiana Territory, gave audience to Tecumseh and his accompanying braves, that they might explain the menacing gatherings at the headquarters of the Prophet at Greenville, the scene of the famous treaty. It was on this occasion that

the pleadings of Tecumseh for the rights of his people, and the bold denunciations of wrong inflicted by the whites, reached the highest altitude of aboriginal sentiment and rhetoric. This speech ranks with the finest efforts of Red Jacket. Then came the battle of Tippecanoe and the disgraceful defeat of the Prophet in the absence of the warrior Tecumseh. The omens of the War of 1812 gave Tecumseh fresh hope that the Americans might yet be driven from the Ohio country. While he was doubtful of the outcome there was no alternative but to ally himself with the Great Father across the seas. Again he went forth to the tribes north, west and south and pleaded for a final concerted action against the Long Knives—the enemies of the Great Father. There are few pages, if any, more romantic in history, than the events of the War of 1812 in the northwest section of Ohio, on or adjacent to the Detroit river. In June, (1812), Tecumseh offered his services, at Amherstburg, to the British authorities. They were accepted and thereafter to the final scene, October 5, 1813, at Thamesville, Tecumseh's activities are inseparably connected with the land events of that war. Bravely and with a desperate intensity and loyalty the chief battled for the cause for which he had enlisted.

Mr. Gurd, at times, allows his British sympathies to color his opinions, though the truth of his statements are usually well founded; he alludes to Duncan McArthur as a "freebooter who penetrated as far east as Moraviantown, robbing the settlers of provisions, blankets and cattle" and scores the Ohio colonel for confiscating a "flock of fine sheep which the Earl of Selkirk had imported from the Old Country." It is not unusual for contending armies to confiscate the property of the enemy.

In the early events of the conflict, Tecumseh and his tribal followers were most conspicuous, especially in the incidents along the river Raisin. It was Tecumseh and his command that ambuscaded Major Van Horne and a party of two hundred who were hastening to the rescue of Captain Brush on his way with supplies for the relief of Hull at Detroit.

Tecumseh was witness to the disgraceful surrender of Hull, when 2,500 American soldiers became prisoners of war. Tecumseh had been for some time previous the close companion and adviser of General Brock and together the two entered the surrendered fort. Brock, turning to Tecumseh, asked him to protect the Americans from the Indians. "We Indians," said Tecumseh, "despise the Long Knives too much to touch them." Mr. Gurd gives due credit to Tecumseh by saying: "there can be little question that Brock would have been unsuccessful in his bold attempt on Detroit had it not been for the presence and active co-operation of Tecumseh and his braves." Rapidly succeeding events more and more gave Tecumseh prominence and honor in the war. Brock in August was shifted to the events in the east on the Niagara frontier. General Procter succeeded to the British command on the

Detroit. This latter officer was cowardly in character and incompetent in fitness. The scenes are transferred to the Maumee. Harrison builds Fort Meigs and the two sieges follow, in both of which Tecumseh and Procter are the leading commanders. The siege of Fort Stephenson, August 1, was the highwater mark of Tecumseh's daring and generalship. No incident in American history surpasses it for thrilling action and surprising results. George Croghan, the boy with 160 Kentucky backwoodsmen, repulses Procter and his army of trained troops and Tecumseh with 1,000 braves. Gurd does not due full justice to this event, so honorable to American arms and bravery.

From now on the story is one of British failure. Procter begins his retreat across the Detroit and up the Thames. Tecumseh has lost his faith in the ability and even honor of Procter and foresees the triumph of the Long Knives, but refuses to retreat further and compels Procter to take a stand "where McGregor's creek empties into the Thames." But on a pretext, Procter continued his retreat, followed by Tecumseh. Harrison and the Americans finally overtook the allies at the Indian village of Moraviantown, on the banks of the Thames. Here the curtain fell on the dramatic life of Tecumseh, who at this time was a brigadier in the British army. Followed by some of the lesser chiefs, at the head of a thousand braves, the Shawnee dressed in his usual costume of deer skin, passed down the lines to note the disposition of the troops. "Round his head was wound a white silk handkerchief, from which floated a white ostrich plume." He fell early in the encounter. Mr. Gurd does not enter into the controversy as to who killed Tecumseh. "His mighty war cry resounded high above the noise of battle. Suddenly he was seen to stagger and fall. Swiftly the words, 'Tecumseh is dead,' passed down the line. Overwhelmed by this crowning calamity, the Indians turned and fled. The faithful body guard of the great chief carried the body of their dead leader deep into the recesses of the enshrouding woods. Down the dim forest aisles they bore him and so he passes from the scene."

Mr. Gurd has produced a faithful portrait of the great chieftain and pays splendid and worthy tribute to the nobility of his nature and to his patriotic service in behalf of his race.

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#### COLONEL ORLANDO J. HODGE.

Colonel Orlando J. Hodge, one of the prominent figures in Ohio history during the present generation, passed away at Cleveland, Ohio, on the evening of April 16, 1912. On the evening of the day in question he had been invited to address the members of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, who on that evening held their annual meeting. He delivered a very interesting and impressive speech, at the close of which he said: "When you men of the Cleveland Chamber

of Commerce answer to the last call and come before Saint Peter, if you will tell him that you are members of the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland, I am sure that he will call upon his best angels to sing their sweetest songs for you." The applause which greeted the venerable speaker's remarks, as he sat down, was long and loud. President-Elect Charles E. Adams complimented the speaker and expressed the hope that Colonel Hodge might live to attend many more annual meetings of the Chamber. A recess of fifteen minutes was taken by the assembly previous to continuing the program, during which intermission Colonel Hodge was suddenly stricken with fatal illness, borne to an adjoining room, where he lapsed into unconsciousness and died in a few moments.

We reproduce the following sketch of Colonel Hodge, from *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* of April 17 (1912) :

A soldier of the Mexican war, first clerk of the Cleveland police court, president of the Connecticut senate, president of the Cleveland city council, speaker of the Ohio house of representatives, editor and newspaper owner for a decade, president of the Early Settlers' association, president of the New England society, president of the Sons of the American Revolution, vice president of the Western Reserve Historical society, a qualified member of the bar, a large owner and dealer in real estate and president of various business corporations—these are milestones in the varied and useful career of Orlando J. Hodge of Cleveland who died yesterday in his eighty-fourth year.

He was one of the few men living who had been an active Republican from the founding of the party, and who had voted for Lincoln and every Republican candidate since. For many years he had also been a leader both in humane activities and legislation. The big Humane society of Cleveland he founded nearly forty years ago, and up to 1910 was its president. He had done much in the making of history himself and was widely known in the literary field, both as an investigator and a contributor.

Mr. Hodge came of pioneer Connecticut stock, the reputed founder of the family in America being John Hodge, who was born March 4, 1643, or 1644, and who was married Aug. 12, 1666, to Susanna Denslow, born Sept. 3, 1646. Alfred, the father of Orlando J., was born March 9, 1795.

Alfred Hodge married Miss Sophia English, daughter of Abel and Anna (Caulkins) English and one of her grandfathers in the fourth generation back was Josua Dewey, Admiral Dewey's grandfather in the sixth generation. The father, Alfred Hodge, who was a farmer, served in the war of 1812, and died July 11, 1832. His wife was born in Lebanon, Ct., April 12, 1795, and died Jan. 13, 1846 in Cleveland.

Orlando J. Hodge is a native of Hamburg, a town adjoining Buffalo, N. Y., and was born in a log house Nov. 25, 1828. Orlando became a permanent resident of Cleveland in 1842. He was first em-

ployed in a printing office at \$1 a week and his board, his chief duty being to keep the forms properly inked with a big hand roller while the presswork was in progress. In 1847 he was a volunteer in the Mexican war. On the way to the scene of operations by way of New York, the Atlantic and the gulf, the vessel in which he sailed was wrecked and lost, but he was rescued by a passing ship, taken to Cuba and then to Mexico.

For sixteen months the youth carried an old flint musket and then returned to Cleveland with a good record. As the forcible reminder of the Mexican war and a complete bar to further military duty on his part, he carried until his death two wounds in his leg. His next serious business was completing his education, for which purpose he attended the Geauga, O., seminary in 1849 to 1851, during a portion of this period having as classmates James A. Garfield and the latter's future wife, Miss Lucretia Rudolph. Two years afterwards he was elected first clerk of the Cleveland police court by the largest vote for any candidate for any office cast at that election.

In 1860, Col. Hodge went to Litchfield county, Connecticut, on business regarding the settlement of an estate and what he planned as a temporary stay was lengthened into a residence of seven years, crowded with important events. In 1862 he was elected to the lower house of the Connecticut legislature and to the senate in 1864 and 1865, serving as president of the upper house in the latter years, although he was the youngest member of the body. And the significance of the selection was doubly emphasized by the unanimous vote that placed him in the chair.

In 1867, Col. Hodge returned to Cleveland, and a few years later was again called to serve the public. Three times he was elected to the city council (1871 to 1877), being made president in 1876, and a fourth term in 1885 and 1886, being again honored with the presidency. His career as a state legislator in Ohio began in 1873 with his election to the Ohio house of representatives. There he served four terms, being speaker pro tem. in 1875 and 1876 and speaker in 1882 and 1883.

Col. Hodge's journalistic career extended from 1878 to 1889, during which period he was editor and chief owner of the Sun and Voice. In 1890 he published the Hodge genealogy, and in 1892 "Reminiscenses." He had been identified with the Chamber of Commerce from its beginning, being one of the members of the board of trade organized July 7, 1848.

On Oct. 15, 1855, Col. Hodge married Miss Lydia R. Doan, who died Sept. 13, 1879, and their only child, Clark R. Hodge, was born July 16, 1857, died Nov. 29, 1880. He wedded his second wife, Virginia Shedd Clark, on April 25, 1882. Mrs. Hodge was a daughter of Edmond Earl and Aurelia Edna (Thompson) Shedd, her father being the oldest and leading wholesale grocer of Columbus.

## OLD FORT SANDUSKY AND THE DE LERY PORTAGE.

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BY LUCY ELLIOT KEELER.

Local history has its renascence in tradition, which passes along from generation to generation hints of names and adventures, which appeal at last to some student of the past and send him forth in quest of sources. Such traditions have long lingered about the little peninsula at Port Clinton, in Ottawa County, Ohio: traditions of venturesome French monks and traders; of an ancient fort, destroyed and rebuilt and destroyed again; of British redcoats and Rangers, Pontiac's savages and Dalyell the avenger; of Bradstreet; and finally of William Henry Harrison building a brush fence to corral several thousand war horses, while their riders sailed away on the ships of Commodore Perry to finish, on the banks of the Canadian Thames, the one victorious military campaign of the second American war with Great Britain. The wealth of recent discoveries bestirred by such traditions materialized in the recent erection of two simple but handsome monuments bearing six historical tablets which were unveiled with interesting ceremonies at Port Clinton, on Memorial Day, May 30, 1912.

Two pyramidal monuments of boulders stand two miles apart, at either end of what is known as the "de Lery Portage of 1754," formerly Fulton Street and Road; the one marking the site of Old Fort Sandoski of 1745, faces Sandusky Bay, opposite the mouth of the Sandusky River; the other the Harrison-Perry Embarkation monument, overlooks Lake Erie near the old mouth of the Portage River. These termini, together with the short land portage connecting them, teem with history as absorbing as any in this country; and it is most appropriate and gratifying that they are finally worthily marked, and their story narrated in enduring bronze for every passer-by to read.

The location of Old Fort Sandoski of 1745, the first fort built by white men in Ohio, long a subject of earnest research,

was definitely settled by Col. Webb C. Hayes of Fremont, and Mr. Chas. W. Burrows of Cleveland, by the discovery in 1906 of the de Lery Journals. Mr. Burrows' work in publishing the "Jesuit Relations" had familiarized him with the richness of the Canadian archives, and at Colonel Hayes' request he communicated with the archivist of Laval University, Quebec. Some clue being found, Colonel Hayes and Mr. Burrows at once visited the Rev. Father A. E. Jones, of St. Mary's College, Montreal,



The Harrison-Perry Embarkation Monument at the Northern Terminus of the Old Sandusky-Scioto Route from Lake Erie to the Ohio River later called the Harrison Trail of the War of 1812. This monument was dedicated May 30, 1912.

and Abbe Gosselin, archivist of Laval University, Quebec, at which latter place the eight de Lery Journals, covering his expedition from Quebec from 1749 to 1754, were discovered. One of these journals, 1754, with its numerous maps and accompanying descriptions of the daily journeyings and solar observations, settles definitely the exact location of old Fort Sandoski, the first fort built by white men in Ohio, the location of which has until now been in doubt even among our foremost historians.

The site of Old Fort Sandoski having been definitely fixed, a monument of split boulders from the Marblehead peninsula, ten feet in height by five feet square at base was erected by the Business Men's Association of Port Clinton, and on its face were affixed four tablets, presented by the Colonial Dames and the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, narrating the Indian, British, French and American occupations of this ancient site. Two miles north, at the Lake Erie terminus of the portage across the peninsula is the almost equally interesting point where the Indians and French hunters, explorers and war parties habitually landed, and later where Harrison embarked for the conquest of Canada in 1813. The monument at this point bears bronze tablets presented by the Ohio Society and Daughters of the American Revolution, and the National Society of the Daughters of 1812 (State of Ohio).

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society having decided to mark these interesting points, communicated with the Patriotic societies whose field of activity covers the interesting period marked by the tablets. In June, 1909, Mrs. J. Kent Hamilton, of Toledo, representing the Colonial Dames resident in northern Ohio, on behalf of the Dames; Mrs. C. R. Truesdall of Fremont on behalf of the Daughters of the American Revolution; and Mrs. C. B. Tozier on behalf of the Daughters of 1812, each subscribed the necessary fifty dollars to secure the manufacture of the bronze tablets; the Archaeological Society providing funds for the remaining three tablets, the French Expedition of 1754, the British Expedition of 1760 and the American Expedition of 1813. The inscriptions were prepared by Colonel Hayes, and by special permission of the War Department the tablets were manufactured at Rock Island (Ill.) Arsenal. While the citizens of Port Clinton were generous in their subscriptions, the matter dragged for nearly three years when the men gallantly turned the entire management over to a committee of ladies members of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. J. E. Brodhead, wife of the Rector, and Mrs. Geo. A. True, who by their indefatigable efforts secured the erection of the two split boulder monuments, and announced the desire of the Business Men's Association of Port Clinton to hold the dedicatory exer-

cise on Memorial Day, May 30, 1912. When the de Lery Journals furnished the necessary information as to the exact location of Old Fort Sandoski on what is now the beautiful fruit farm of Mr. Rhode, that gentleman and his wife patriotically tendered the site free to the Archeological Society for the proposed monument. Owing to the brief notice and to the long-time previous engagements to speak on Memorial Day, Col. Henry Watterson, dean of American journalism, who had enthusiastically agreed to deliver the address was unable to be present; and as it turned out, through an accident, Mr. Chas. W. Burrows to whom the public is greatly indebted for the publication of the "Jesuit Relations" and of Avery's "History of the United States and its People," was also unable to be present.

Memorial Day having been chosen for the dedication of these monuments and the unveiling of the tablets, visitors began arriving early in the morning. Delegations from many patriotic chapters of Cleveland, Toledo and Sandusky, with Mrs. Thomas Kite, State Regent of the D. A. R. of Ohio were present; Mrs. C. B. Tozier, Past State President of the Daughters of 1812, and the newly elected Regent of Western Reserve Chapter, D. A. R.; Mrs. Chas. H. Smith, chairman of the Memorial Committee of the Daughters of 1812 for Ohio and Mrs. John T. Mack, President Daughters of 1812, State of Ohio. There came also a large delegation from Ursula Wolcott chapter, D. A. R., of Toledo, and Mrs. J. K. Hamilton of the Colonial Dames of America and Vice State Regent, D. A. R.; Mrs. C. R. Truesdall of Fremont, State Vice President General, D. A. R.; and a large delegation from George Croghan Chapter of Fremont and Martha Pitkin Chapter, Sandusky.

The visiting delegations were met on their arrival by hospitable people of the town and conveyed to the Court House, from which the procession was formed, headed by the Wideman Band, and in scores of automobiles and carriages were taken to the site of the old fort where a stand and seats had been arranged, facing the beautiful waters of Sandusky Bay and River. The assembly was called to order by Col. W. C. Hayes, of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society who asked Mr. and Mrs. Rhode, donors of the site of the Ft. Sandoski monu-

ment to occupy seats on the stand with the speakers; and called on Mr. R. S. Gallagher, president of the Port Clinton Business Men's Association to act as chairman of the meeting.

The program was carried out as follows:

THE COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA IN THE STATE OF OHIO

THE OHIO DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY UNITED STATES DAUGHTERS OF 1812,  
STATE OF OHIO

THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND  
THE CITIZENS OF PORT CLINTON, OHIO

invite you to be present at the Unveiling of the Commemorative Tablets and the Dedication of the Monuments erected to mark the site of old Fort Sandoski of 1745—the first fort built by white men within the present limits of Ohio—and of the northern terminus of the Sandusky-Scioto Trail—from Lake Erie to the Ohio River—where Major-General Harrison embarked for his Canadian Campaign of 1813.

PART CLINTON, OHIO, MEMORIAL DAY

Thursday, May 30, 1912

INVITATION COMMITTEE

Mrs. J. E. Brodhead, Port Clinton, Chairman

Mrs. J. Kent Hamilton, for the Colonial Dames of America

Mrs. Clayton R. Truesdall, for the Daughters of the American Revolution

Mrs. John T. Mack, for the Daughters of 1812, of Ohio

Col. Webb C. Hayes, for the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society

PROGRAM

EXERCISES AT OLD FORT SANDOSKI OF 1745

AT 10:30 A. M.

Chairman.....R. S. Gallagher, President Port Clinton Business  
Men's Association

Prayer.....Rev. S. K. Straus

Music during unveiling of Tablets.....Port Clinton Band

Presentation of Tablet from the Colonial Dames..Mrs. J. Kent Hamilton  
Unveiled by Master Allen Hamilton

Presentation of Tablets from the Ohio State Archaeological and  
Historical Society.....Col. Webb C. Hayes, one of the Trustees  
Unveiled by Master Richard Brodhead

Acceptance of Tablets.....	R. S. Gallagher
Music	
Address, "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745, and the De Lery Journals"	Charles William Burrows
EXERCISES AT HARRISON-PERRY EMBARKATION MONUMENT	
At 1:30 P. M.	
Chairman .....	Hon. George A. True
Prayer.....	Rev. J. E. Brodhead
Music during unveiling of Tablets.....	Port Clinton Band
Presentation of Tablet from the Daughters of the American Revolution. Unveiled by Mary Elizabeth Truesdall.....	
.....	Mrs. Thomas Kite, State Regent
Presentation of Tablet from the Daughters of 1812, Unveiled by Alice Davenport Snyder.....	Mrs. John T. Mack, State President
Acceptance of Tablets.....	Hon. George A. True
Music.....	Port Clinton Schools
Address.....	Hon. Judson Harmon, Governor of Ohio
Address.....	Hon. George E. Pomeroy, Past Governor
Colonial Wars	
Address.....	Prof. G. Frederick Wright, President Ohio State
... Archaeological and Historical Society	
Music.....	Port Clinton Band
Address.....	Hon. James M. Richardson, President-General
Sons American Revolution	
Music.....	Port Clinton Band
Benediction	

Mr. Gallagher made an excellent presiding officer and delivered a most appropriate and patriotic address in accepting the tablets and monument on behalf of the citizens of Ottawa County, and pledged the perpetual maintenance and care of the monuments.

MRS. J. KENT HAMILTON,

of Toledo, in presenting the tablet of the Colonial Dames, spoke as follows:

"The Colonial Dames in Ohio feel it a privilege to be permitted to speak a few words on this interesting and memorable occasion. 'In the good old Colony Days, when we all lived under the King,' it was the King of France who thought he ruled this country here and held it by a chain of forts reaching from Quebec to New Orleans, and expected this barrier to check the sweep of English emigration as the heavy iron chains stretched

across the river by the mediaeval Italians prevented the approach of the ships of the enemy. But the ancestors whom we honor by our membership in the society I represent were warriors who were not to be checked in this way. The colonists were most of them so recently transplanted from old England as to be British by birth in many instances as well as by the allegiance that did not waver before the French troops, however it might regard the King's tax gatherer. The Colonies were not the same as the Thirteen States. They were Royal or proprietary or charter colonies and even when bearing the same names as the States which succeeded them often covered a very different extent of territory. But now a hundred and fifty years after the fall of Quebec and the death of George the Second, in territory originally granted to Connecticut by its charter, is gathered an association of one hundred and sixty-eight women, whose ancestors served in nine of the original colonies, and who rejoice in being permitted to assist in commemorating the achievements of the men whose blood still runs in their veins."

COL. WEBB C. HAYES

represented the Archaeological Society in presenting the three tablets descriptive of the French, British and American military occupations of the fort, and spoke in part as follows:

"The functions of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society are manifold and embrace a great variety of subjects for research, so that every member has an opportunity to ride his hobby. While on trips around the world, serving as a soldier in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and China, I noticed how carefully the older countries marked their battlefields and historic places, and on returning home became interested in locating the site of the first military post in the Sandusky Valley. With Mr. Burrows I visited Ottawa, Montreal and Quebec, and at the latter place found the very interesting series of eight journals kept by de Lery during his expedition from 1749 to 1758, from Quebec to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. Portions of these journals were copied and translated through the permission of the Jesuit authorities, and published by Miss Lucy Elliot Keeler in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical publication

in October, 1908, under the title of 'Old Fort Sandoski, of 1745 and the Sandusky Country.' From an examination of these journals, verified by the researches of Colonel Whittlesey, Judge Baldwin and Mr. Goodman of the Western Reserve Historical Society, we learn that the French as one of their routes to the Mississippi, ascended the St. Lawrence from Quebec, portaged around Niagara Falls, and hugging the southern shore of Lake Erie entered Sandusky lake or bay, and landed near this spot, from which place, if they wished to proceed further up the



Colonel Hayes speaking at the unveiling of the monument and tablet marking site of Old Fort Sandoski of 1745, May 30, 1912.

Great Lakes they portaged across the peninsula two miles back to Lake Erie and then on to Detroit and Mackinac. Or they continued up the Sandusky River to its headwaters and then after a portage of four miles across to the headwaters of the Scioto, they entered that stream and followed it down to the Ohio and then to the Mississippi and its mouth at New Orleans. This watercourse through the present State of Ohio from Lake Erie to the Ohio River was called the Sandusky-Scioto Route, and

the Sandusky-Scioto Trail followed the high banks contiguous to the river usually found on all streams in this section, and was generally located on the westerly banks of the Sandusky and Scioto rivers. The tablet on the south face of this monument, 'French Expedition of 1754,' contains the roster of officers with the number of men, 285 in all, which formed the French expedition of which de Lery, the author of the Journals was the senior lieutenant in 1754. The British soldiers and the colonial hunters and trappers pushed out from the colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and eventually captured Ft. Duquesne at the junction of the two rivers forming the Ohio, which they rechristened Fort Pitt; and Ft. Pitt became the seat of the British power in the west as Detroit had long been the seat of power for the French. Owing to the rivalries of the Indian chiefs in their dealing with the French at Detroit, one of them, a Huron chief called Nicolas, withdrew from Detroit and settled on the Sandusky and soon got in communication with British traders, finally in 1745 granting them permission to erect what has since been known as Old Fort Sandoski of 1745.

"It is to mark the site of this fort and its two successors, built and destroyed within a period of eighteen years, from 1745 to 1763, that we have erected this monument. It is almost unique in this country as marking the site of a fort occupied during periods of war, first by the native Indians, then by the French, then by the British, and finally by the Americans fifty years after its final destruction, during General Harrison's invasion of Canada and the relief of Detroit in the second war with Great Britain, September and October, 1813.

"The long standing rivalry between the French and the British for the possession of the American continent terminated in what is known as the old French War of 1755-1760. Montcalm and Wolfe, the commanding officers respectively were killed in the battles on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec in 1759 which was followed on the 10th of September, 1760, by the surrender of Montreal and French sovereignty in America, although the formal treaty of peace was not made until 1763 in the Treaty of Paris. Major Robert Rogers, of New Hampshire,

with his company of Colonial Rangers, was despatched from Quebec to proceed to Niagara and the Great Lakes to take over the French forts. This famous Ranger had among other captains in his command, the famous Capt. John Stark, husband of the gallant Molly, and we hope to find affirmative proof that John Stark accompanied him to this spot, as later did that famous hunter, soldier of fortune and grand Revolutionary soldier, Israel Putnam, who came here in command of Connecticut troops in Bradstreet's expedition of 1764. Rogers from his camp here on Sept. 18, 1760, sent his formal written demand to the officer at Detroit for the surrender of that city and the other French forts as narrated on the bronze tablet on the north face: 'British Expedition 1760.' Rogers returning with the French officers came again to this fort and then proceeded overland to Ft. Pitt and Philadelphia. The Indians, however, always loyal to the French, resented the intrusion of the British Re'coats and Pontiac, the great Ottawa chief, carefully organized his famous Conspiracy which was so perfect in all its details. Early in May, 1763, the storm burst. 'Nine British forts yielded instantly, Detroit and Ft. Pitt alone escaping capture; and the savages drank, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, the blood of many a Briton; Sandusky was the first to fall.' Ensign Pauli, the commandant, was the sole survivor here. Without going into detail as to the horrible atrocities committed on the prisoners, it has been said by a cynical bachelor with more courage than discretion in the presence of the warlike Daughters of the American Revolution, that Pauli was reserved for the most frightful of all punishments to which man could be subjected. He was taken to Pontiac's camp and condemned to be married to an Indian squaw. The British relief expeditions were hurried forward on receipt of news of the Indian uprising. They came to Fort Sandusky only to find the fort destroyed and the garrison massacred. Captain Dalyell was so incensed at the sight of the horribly disfigured bodies that he delayed here long enough to make an incursion into the Indian country, destroying the Huron camp at the Lower Falls of the Sandusky, (now Fremont), before proceeding to Detroit where he was soon killed in

leading a sortie against Pontiac's Indians. Detroit was finally relieved by the British Expedition commanded by Col. John Bradstreet which was organized in the Hudson Valley to operate from Lake Erie and form a conjunction with Colonel Bouquet's expedition, which was organized at Fort Pitt. Colonel Bradstreet's British army on large boats entered Lake Erie, skirted along the southern shore to Sandusky Bay and then up to the mouth of the Sandusky River, resting awhile here at the ruins of Old Fort Sandoski. After relieving Detroit, Bradstreet returned to Sandusky Bay and River and proceeded up the river to the Lower Falls, (now Fremont), camping along the rim of that beautiful amphitheatre which extends from old Ft. Stephenson, around the curve to the present Sandusky County Fair Ground on the high bank of the Sandusky River, near the ruins of one of the Free Cities described by General Lewis Cass. Bradstreet's expedition which had now reached the heart of the Indian Confederacy was unable to proceed further owing to his inability to get his large water craft over the Lower Falls of the Sandusky; but the object of the expedition had been accomplished, the Indians had become terrified by this attack in their rear, although prepared to meet Colonel Bouquet in his advance from Fort Pitt, and sued for peace, agreeing to release all the white and half-breed captives in their possession. The captive whites were faithfully delivered to Colonel Bouquet who reaped the glory of the expedition, although the honor really belonged to Col. John Bradstreet.

"During the Revolutionary War, Detroit was the headquarters of the British in the west, under the scalp-hunting Lieut.-Governor Hamilton, who had for his assistants the renegades Elliott and Girty. It has been computed that, including the Moravians and other white prisoners captured by the Indians in western Pennsylvania and along the Ohio River, that during the Revolutionary War there were held in the aggregate over two thousands white prisoners at Lower Sandusky, (Fremont). To aid the Indians in the repulse of the Crawford Expedition of 1782, the British commandant sent Butler's Rangers, with cannon, by boat from Detroit, up the Sandusky River to Lower Sandusky, where they met their horses; but their services

were not required, as the American expedition ended disastrously with the death of Crawford, who was burned at the stake, near Upper Sandusky.

"Although the treaty of peace of 1783 gave the United States its present northern boundary along the waterways north of Ohio and Michigan, yet the territory contiguous to Detroit was not actually evacuated by the British until 1796, after the defeat of the allied Indian tribes, by General Anthony Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, in 1794. In fact the British erected Ft. Miami in 1786, on the site of the old French Factor's building within the present city limits of Toledo, and this fort was occupied by them during General Wayne's battles. This Ft. Miami was again occupied by the British in the siege of Ft. Meigs in May, 1813. It is often confused with the old Ft. Miami at Ft. Wayne in Indiana, which is the Ft. Miami of early Colonial days. During the second war with Great Britain, the British again ascended the Sandusky river and bombarded Ft. Stephenson at Fremont, but were repulsed by the gallant Major George Croghan, and retreated down the river and over to Detroit where they remained until the British fleet under Captain Barclay was captured in the memorable Battle of Lake Erie on September 10, 1813, by Commodore Perry. This ended the British occupation of Ohio and of the waters of the Maumee and Sandusky valleys. The American occupation of the site of this fort is described in the tablet on the east face of the monument, 'American Expedition 1813', which tells how the American forces marched down over the old Sandusky-Scioto Trail, and how the stores and supplies were shipped from Ft. Stephenson down the river, to the site of the old Fort here, and then tells how the boats were dragged across the two mile portage to the waters of Lake Erie at the old French and Indian landing place of the earlier days which we have also marked with a monument known as the Harrison-Perry Embarkation monument, because at that point General Harrison's army embarked on Commodore Perry's fleet some ten days after the battle of Lake Erie and was then conveyed first to Put-in-Bay or South Bass Island, then to Middle Sister Island, finally landing in Canada, relieving Detroit

and meeting the British in the Battle of the Thames where Proctor with his British Regulars was defeated and Tecumseh, with many of his Indians, was killed on the 5th of October, 1813.

"Before leaving Ohio with his regulars and the Kentucky militiamen under Governor Shelby, General Harrison caused to be constructed a brush fence extending across this peninsula at a point where it was about two miles in width, from the mouth of the Portage river to a point opposite the mouth of the Sandusky river. Within this enclosure all the horses were turned loose, and Col. Benjamin Rife, an Ohio militiaman, was left in command. The returning Kentucky and Ohio volunteers with the British prisoners captured by General Harrison's army camped again here, gathered up their horses and proceeded to their homes over the old Sandusky-Scioto Trail, the northern half of which has since been called the Harrison Trail of the war of 1812.

"Three years ago it gave me great pleasure to present to the State for the use and benefit of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the residence of my parents known as Spiegel Grove, at Fremont, for the purpose of preserving the remaining half mile of the famous old trail which runs through it and has not yet been obliterated; with the single condition that this Trail should be maintained and preserved as a park road. The entrances to the Trail where it passes in and out of Spiegel Grove have been appropriately marked with split boulder gateways, and the Harrison gateway with descriptive historical tablets on the cannon forming the upright columns.

"It is a curious fact that in passing from Lake Erie into the Sandusky river, the Indians, the French and sixty years later the Americans in their military expeditions, used this de Lery portage of 1754, and hauled their boats across it, in passing from Lake Erie to the mouth of the Sandusky; and that the British alone, both in the old French war and in the war of 1812 entered through the waterway formerly known as Lac Sandoski, and now called Sandusky Bay. Although the distance around the peninsula by water was less than fifty miles, nevertheless

the Indians, the French and the Americans preferred to haul their watercraft and shipping across the de Lery Portage rather than risk the dangers of Sandusky Bay.

"It is a matter of pride to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society that it has been able, with the assistance of the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812 and the citizens of Port Clinton, to mark the landing places at the termini of this famous portage, and preserve for all time the site of Old Fort Sandoski of 1745, unique in having been used in war by the Indians, the French, the British and the Americans."

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Chairman Gallagher then accepted the Monument and Tablets in an eloquent address, after which Dr. G. Frederick Wright, President of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society spoke briefly in place of Mr. Chas. W. Burrows who was detained by an accident, on "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745."

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The ceremonies at the unveiling of the Harrison-Perry Embarkation monument on the shore of Lake Erie occupied the afternoon after the Memorial Day exercises by the G. A. R. Post. The people again formed in line at the Court House and preceded by the band and Co. M., 6th Ohio National Guard, of Oak Harbor, and hundreds of school children carrying flags, Marshal of the Day, Mr. Wonnell in command, marched to the site of the monument, where a great audience had assembled. The band and Company M. formed in line about the monument followed by school children. As the band played The Star Spangled Banner, Misses Mary Elizabeth Truesdall and Alice Davenport Snyder loosened the two flags which concealed the tablets, representing the Daughters of the American Revolution and The Daughters of 1812 respectively. Seats had been placed on the lawn in front of Hon. George A. True's home directly opposite and from the porch the addresses followed.

Mrs. Kite in a fine address presented the Tablets from the D. A. R. of Ohio and was followed by Mrs. John T. Mack, state president of the Daughters of 1812, presenting the tablet from that society. Mr. True accepted the tablets on behalf of Port Clinton, the school children sang well a patriotic song and ad-



Harrison-Perry Embarkation Monument unveiled May 30, 1912.

dresses followed by Hon. Geo. E. Pomeroy of Toledo, Past Governor of Society Colonial Wars; Prof. G. F. Frederick Wright, Hon. James M. Richardson of Cleveland, President General Sons of the American Revolution and Colonel Webb C. Hayes. To all who attended the exerices were of great interest and made the day memorable while the hospitality of Port Clinton's patriotic people to all the visiting delegates will long be gratefully remembered. Prof. Wright in his afternoon address called attention to an interesting fact. He said that both monuments were of boulders which had come from what was originally British soil, carried down by ice floes probably about ten thousand years ago from upper Lake Huron and Lake Superior regions and deposited on Ohio's soil.

#### MRS. KITE'S ADDRESS.

It is a well known saying that "Nations are ungrateful." Even Washington Irving said, "The idol of today pushes the hero of yesterday out of our recollections, and will in turn be supplanted by his successor of tomorrow."

While all this may have been true in the past, it is hardly justified now.

The changed condition is largely due to the tremendous influence of patriotic societies, so ably represented here today, an influence which is rapidly increasing year by year, and is being recognized as a power in state and national legislation.

The marking of historic sites, locating important trails, discovering Revolutionary graves has been no easy task.

The success attending such efforts is wonderful, and reflects great credit upon the local and state committees having such matters in charge.

It has been up-hill work because of the general utilitarian and too practical spirit of many Americans, who are prone to place land values upon a financial, rather than a patriotic or sentimental basis; but perseverance and fidelity to a set purpose, have conquered in many instances over commercialism, and thus we have our monuments and many old buildings restored and saved.

Bacon has said, "Industrious persons, by an exact and

scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."

In all such work none have been more enthusiastic and untiring in their efforts than the Daughters of the American Revolution.

It needed but the suggestion of Col. Hayes, backed by his wonderful enthusiasm and zeal, to start the "Ohio Daughters" on their work of helping to locate the most historic trail in the state, running from Port Clinton to Columbus, now known as the "Harrison Trail."

My illustrious predecessor, Mrs. Clayton R. Truesdall then state regent, received the suggestion with her usual clear headed, farsighted grasp of the situation, and enthusiastically presented the subject to the Daughters of the American Revolution at their next state conference, held in Athens.

With Mrs. Truesdall "to think is to act," and in her usual convincing manner made the members of our society see the matter from her view point; and the tablet to mark the end of the Harrison Trail was assured, also much necessary work from the Historic Sites committee, of which Mrs. John T. Mack of Sandusky is the most efficient chairman.

All over Ohio the Daughters of the American Revolution are doing splendid work along the same lines.

In this connection, the largest undertaking in which we are concerned is the "Ocean to Ocean Highway," to be formed by successive old roads and trails.

It seems tremendous in its scope and expense, but if completed will be the proudest achievement of modern times.

The work is well started in Ohio, and will be pushed as rapidly as possible.

Much has been accomplished by our society in this work in Missouri, Colorado, Nebraska and other western states, and with our rapidly increasing membership formed of the best and truest women in the land, success must of necessity crown any effort of ours.

The short inscription of this tablet we are honoring today, gives concisely historic facts which all may read.

It does not need a very vivid imagination to see and feel all the labor, sacrifice, bloodshed, aching hearts and desolate homes which are summed up in these facts.

We exult over the victories achieved, and thrill with horror over the martyrdom of Col. Crawford.

His name is on the bead-roll of fame, and we all unite to honor his memory, (and here it gives me pleasure to state that our newest chapter, in Bucyrus, is named "Hannah Crawford," in memory of the brave wife of the martyr.)

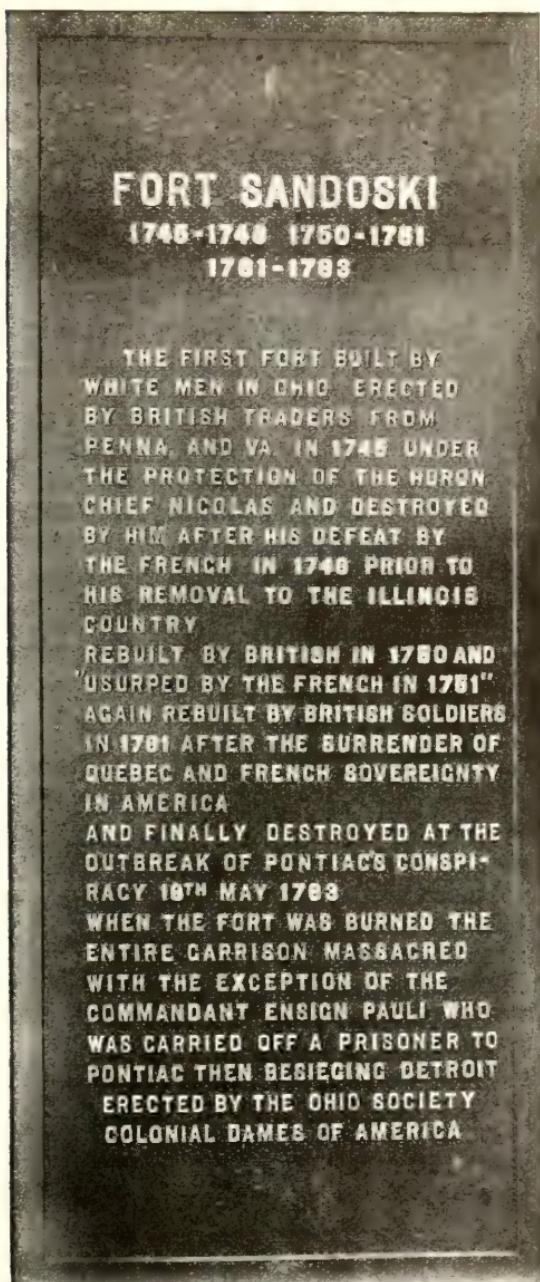
Could he speak we might hear him say: "I have executed a monument more lasting than brass, and more sublime than the regal elevation of pyramids which neither the wasting shower, the unavailing north wind, or an innumerable succession of years and the flight of seasons shall be able to demolish."—(Smart's Horace.)

In the name of the Ohio Daughters of the American Revolution, I present this tablet to mark the northern terminal of the old Indian water way and land trail, later known as the "Harrison Trail."

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#### ADDRESS OF MRS. JOHN T. MACK.

The Daughters of the War of 1812 esteem it a great honor to have erected this, their first tablet in the State of Ohio on so historic a spot, and especially so, because it commemorates so much history in the war period this organization stands for. We have gathered here today to commemorate scenes in the making of our nation which transpired almost one hundred years ago. Here the red man came from the northland on his way to the beautiful Ohio country. Again, we read of the trapper and a little later, of the history of old Fort Sandoski, and of the terrible scenes enacted there at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy. During the war of 1812, Commodore Perry and General William Henry Harrison met in council not far from this place. Commodore Perry requested Gen. Harrison to give him troops to help man his ships. Thirty-six men responded, and 45



Tablet on the West Face of the Harrison-Perry Embarkation Monument.

years after the battle of Lake Erie, William Blair, of Lexington, Richland county, one of those 36 men who had volunteered, visited Put-in-Bay, and attended the 45th anniversary celebration of the battle of Lake Erie. He exhibited a rich and massive silver medal, bearing the impress of Perry, with appropriate inscription, which had been presented to him with the thanks of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, of which state he was then a citizen, in testimony of his bravery in that memorable battle. After the battle of Lake Erie, General Harrison began to concentrate his forces at the mouth of the Portage river here. Governor Shelbey was on his march, and joined him with 4,000 volunteers from Kentucky. General McArthur had arrived at Fort Meigs, General Cass had reached Upper Sandoski, and Colonel Hill with a regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers was on the march from Erie. About 7,000 men were advancing for the invasion of Canada. On September 17, Governor Shelbey with his 4,000 mounted troops arrived at the Portage. General Harrison thought it best that they serve as infantry in the invasion, and in order to secure their horses against escape, it was necessary to build a brush and log fence across the peninsula, from Sandoski Bay to the Portage river. This provided the horses a luxurious pasture. The number of horses left here on the peninsula is estimated to have been about 5,000. On the 20th of September, Gen. McArthur's brigade from Fort Meigs, joined the main body here, after a fatiguing march of 36 miles down the Lake Shore by way of Brownstown. Col. Johnson's regiment had orders to approach Detroit by land, direct from Fort Meigs, while such of Col. Hill's detached militia, as chose not to cross into Canada were ordered to guard the British prisoners taken by Commodore Perry from the Portage to Chillicothe. The different posts on the American side were left in charge of Ohio militia, and about 500 of the Kentucky volunteers remained to guard the horses and stores. On the 21st of September, at the dawn of the day, the embarkation from this immediate shore commenced. For want of sufficient boats, not more than one-third could embark at one time, and it was necessary for the boats to return several times before all the troops could be transported to Put-in-Bay, while Perry's fleet was busi-

ly engaged in conveying the baggage of the army. On the 22d of September, the whole army had reached the island and was encamped on the margin of the bay. The Lawrence and six

## FRENCH EXPEDITION 1754

ACROSS THE DE LERY PORTAGE  
FROM QUEBEC TO DETROIT AND MICHILIMA-  
QUINAK AS NOTED IN THE JOURNAL OF THE  
CHEVALIER CHASSEGROS DE LERY WHICH ON  
AUGUST 4 1754 LANDED NEAR THIS SPOT AND  
DISCOVERED THE RUINS OF THE OLD FORT

FORT SANDOSKI 1748-1748 1750 - 1751		
MONSIEUR PEAN CAPTAIN REGIMENTAL		1
ADJUTANT OF QUEBEC COMMANDING		1
MONSIEUR ST. MARTIN ACTING MAJOR		1
MONSIEUR LERY		
MONSIEUR ST. OURB	LIEUTENANTS	3
MONSIEUR RICAUVILLE		
MONSIEUR DESMEOISES		
MONSIEUR PORNEUF		
MONSIEUR COURNOYER	ENSIGNS	4
FATHER BONNECAMP	JESUIT	1
MONSIEUR FORGET DUVERGER	JESUIT OF	
THE MISSIONS ENTRANGERES		1
MONSIEUR MAUVILES		
MONSIEUR VIGEE		
MONSIEUR CARON	SURGEONS	3
MONSIEUR LAFORCE	STOREKEEPER	1
MONSIEUR CONSTANTAN	OLD INTERPRETER	
27 CANOES EACH CARRYING 10 MEN		270
		285

2949

Tablet on the South Face of the Harrison-Perry Embarkation Monument.

prize ships captured from the enemy lay at anchor in the center of the bay, in full view. Here they remained until the 25th of September when they again embarked, some in small boats, and

some on board the fleet to take their second position nearer Canada. They arrived a little before sunset that day at East Sister Island, while General Harrison and Commodore Perry in the Ariel, made a reconnoissance of the enemy's coast. It was not until the morning of the 27th, that they began this last journey across the lake. One account says the day was fine and a propitious breeze made their passage a pleasing pastime. It was a sublime and inspiring spectacle to behold sixteen ships of war and a hundred boats filled with men borne rapidly and majestically to the long sought shores of the enemy, and thus they sailed until 4 p. m., when they landed four miles below Malden. From this point, they marched to Detroit, and then on to victory at the battle of the Thames. The battle of Lake Erie was the first encounter of our infant navy, in fleet and squadron, the Guerriere, the Java, and Macedonia had surrendered in combat with single ships, but it was on the waters of our fair Lake Erie, that the British nation was taught that we could conquer them in squadron array. The battle of Lake Erie opened to Gen. Harrison and his army the gate-way to Malden, and enabled him to capture the only army that was taken during the war of 1812. More than this, it restored to us Detroit, gave our young nation once more, free navigation of the Great Lakes, and shielded the frontier for 300 miles from the assaults of the torch of a British and savage foe. Mr. Chairman, the National Society, the United States Daughters of the War of 1812, State of Ohio, presents with great pleasure, for safe-keeping, this tablet with the patriotic hope that those who pass by in future years, will stop and read of the brave men and their deeds recorded hereon, and cherish anew love of liberty and free government which made this a nation, and has always kept it such. This tablet marks the nothern terminus of Ohio's famous Harrison trail—a historic spot indeed in the history of this republic.

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PROF. G. F. WRIGHT'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are standing upon one of the most interesting spots connected with American history. From the middle of the eighteenth century to the close of the War of

## BRITISH EXPEDITION 1760

ACROSS THE DE LERY PORTAGE  
FROM QUEBEC TO DETROIT AND MICHILIMAKANA  
TO TAKE OVER THE FRENCH FORTS ON THE  
GREAT LAKES AFTER THE SURRENDER OF  
QUEBEC AND FRENCH SOVEREIGNTY IN AMERICA  
AS NOTED IN THE JOURNALS OF MAJOR ROBERT  
ROGERS COMMANDING HIS MAJESTY'S INDE-  
PENDENT COMPANIES OF RANGERS WHO ON  
THE 18TH NOVEMBER 1760 FROM HIS CAMP ON  
SANDUSKY LAKE DEMANDED THE SURRENDER  
OF DETROIT

"TO CAPT. BELETTER OR THE OFFICER COM-  
MANDING AT DETROIT

SIR. I HAVE GEN. AMHERST'S  
ORDERS TO TAKE POSSESSION OF DETROIT  
AND SUCH OTHER POSTS AS ARE IN THAT  
DISTRICT WHICH BY CAPITULATION AGREED  
TO AND SIGNED BY THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL  
AND HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR GEN. AMHERST  
THE 8TH OF SEPTEMBER LAST NOW BELONG TO  
THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN"

LEAVING DETROIT "ON THE 23<sup>rd</sup> DEC. SET  
OUT FOR PITTSBURGH AND MARCHING ALONG  
THE WEST END OF LAKE ERIE TILL THE 2<sup>nd</sup>  
OF JANUARY 1761 WHEN WE ARRIVED AT  
LAKE SANDUSKY" WHERE THE BRITISH FOR  
THE THIRD TIME BUILT FORT SANDOSKI  
LEAVING "ENSIGN PAULI AND FIFTEEN MEN  
AT SANDUSKY" WHERE HE REMAINED UNTIL THE  
OUTBREAK OF PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY WHEN  
ON THE 18<sup>th</sup> MAY 1763 THE FORT WAS  
BURNED THE ENTIRE GARRISON MASSACRED  
WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE COMMANDANT  
ENSIGN PAULI WHO WAS CARRIED A PRISONER  
TO PONTIAC THEN BESEIZING DETROIT

Tablet on the North Face of the Harrison-Perry Embarkation Monument.

1812 this portage leading from the head of Sandusky Bay across the neck of Marblehead Peninsula to the open waters of Lake Erie figured largely in the struggle of two great European powers for the possession of the vast realm lying west of the Allegheny mountains. It was here, also, that the Indian tribes made their last great effort to maintain their possession of the country, and that the United States concentrated its last force which completed Perry's victory and closed the War of 1812. Such deeds as were here transacted deserve commemoration, and it is fitting that we should here erect monuments to remind our children and children's children of the price that has been paid for the inheritance which they possess in these broad and fertile fields, in these lines of communication open to them both by land and water, and in the free political institutions under which they enjoy without restriction life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is but two miles across this neck of land separating the upper part of Sandusky Bay from the waters of Lake Erie. To make the circuit by water one must travel fifty miles. With only the primitive boats of 150 years ago the navigation of these fifty miles was beset with many hazards. There had then been no accurate soundings of the channel, so that unknown shoals where in storms the breakers were high rendered the rounding of Marblehead a dangerous procedure. So it came about that the Indians coming from Detroit and the upper lakes on their way to the Ohio river preferred to make this portage rather than to consume the time required in making the entire circuit by water and at the same time free themselves from the hazards of that voyage.

Following them, the French and the Americans pursued the same course in all their military expeditions. The English alone pursued the other course, as in the expeditions of Proctor to capture Fort Stephenson, at the lower falls of the Sandusky river, where Fremont now stands.

In 1745 the first fort built by white men in Ohio, known as old Fort Sandoski, was erected on this spot by English traders, who were conspiring with the famous Wyandot chief Nicolas to drive the French from Detroit and all the upper posts. The conspiracy, like that of Pontiac a little later, failed through the

## AMERICAN EXPEDITION 1813

ACROSS THE DE LERY PORTAGE  
FROM FORT SENECA TO DETROIT AND THE IN-  
VASION OF CANADA AS NOTED IN CAPTAIN R.B.  
MCAFEE'S HISTORY 1818

MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON ON RECEIVING  
WORD OF COMMODORE PERRY'S VICTORY  
PROCEEDED TO FORT STEPHENSON AND "IS-  
SUED HIS ORDERS FOR THE MOVEMENT OF THE  
TROOPS AND TRANSPORTATION OF THE PRO-  
VISION MILITARY STORES ETC. TO THE MAR-  
GIN OF THE LAKE PREPARATORY TO THEIR  
EMBARKATION"

THE TROOPS WERE MARCHED DOWN THE OLD  
SANDUSKY-SCIOTO TRAIL TO ITS NORTHERN  
TERMINUS ON LAKE ERIE

"IN BRINGING DOWN THE MILITARY STORES AND  
PROVISIONS FROM THE POSTS ON THE SANDUSKY  
RIVER TO THE VESSELS IN THE LAKE A SHORT  
LAND CARRIAGE BECAME NECESSARY TO EX-  
PEDITE EMBARKATION

IT WAS DEEMED MORE SAFE AND EXPEDITIOUS  
TO TRANSPORT THE STORES AND DRAG THE  
BOATS ACROSS THE Isthmus WHICH WAS AC-  
COMPLISHED BETWEEN THE 15TH AND THE 20TH  
OF THE MONTH (SEP. 1813) EACH REGIMENT WAS  
ORDERED TO CONSTRUCT A STRONG FENCE OF  
BRUSH AND FALLEN TIMBER IN FRONT OF ITS  
ENCAMPMENT WHICH EXTENDED WHEN FIN-  
ISHED FROM PORTAGE RIVER TO SANDUSKY  
RIVER WITHIN THIS ENCLOSURE THEIR HORSES  
WERE TURNED LOOSE TO GRAZE ON AMPLE  
PASTURES OF EXCELLENT GRASS."

Tablet on the East Face of the Harrison-Perry Embarkation Monument.

treachery of one of the followers of Nicolas—in this case a woman. In 1748 old Fort Sandoski was destroyed, and both the Indians and the English took their departure.

The English traders, however, soon returned, which led the French to send a formidable force to establish their possessions along the south shore of Lake Erie and onward to the Ohio river. In 1754 the French built Fort Junundat, on the opposite side of Sandusky Bay from old Fort Sandoski. This was the work of the distinguished engineer de Lery, who, skirting along the southern shore of Lake Erie, entered Sandusky bay and reached old Fort Sandoski on Sunday, August 4, 1754. In further pursuit of his journey he made a portage of two miles to "the great lake" at the present site of Port Clinton.

After the capture of Fort Duquesne by the British in 1758, and Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec in 1759, Canada with all its dependencies was surrendered to the British crown, but it still remained to carry into effect the full terms of the conquest by taking over the western forts. The commission for the occupation of old Fort Sandoski and the opening of the trail to the Ohio river was executed by the notorious Major Robert Rogers, leaving Ensign Pauli and fifteen men at Fort Sandoski to complete the work in 1761. In 1763 Fort Sandoski was the first to fall as the result of the conspiracy of Pontiac. All the garrison was massacred except Ensign Pauli, who was carried as a prisoner to Detroit, where he made his escape. About the same time a party of ninety-six men under Lieutenant Cuyler was sent out to relieve Detroit, but was intercepted on the way, and the most of them killed, the Lieutenant, however, with thirty men, managed to escape and to reach Fort Sandoski only to find it in ashes. Two months later, on the 26th of July, a detachment of 260 men under the command of Captain Dalyell arrived at the ruins of the old fort, and, furious at the spectacle, came up to the falls of Sandusky—now Fremont—to avenge the massacre and destroyed the Wyandot village at that place.

In 1764 Colonel Bradstreet, accompanied by Israel Putnam and 1,183 men, visited old Fort Sandoski and paused for a little rest. While there he made an unfortunate agreement with the

Indians which eventually led to his dismissal from the service. His distinguished engineer, Montresor, was left to rebuild the fort, which, however, was only partially accomplished.

There is not much more recorded concerning the portage of old Fort Sandoski until the War of 1812, when, after the victory of Commodore Perry, on September 10, 1813, General Harrison, with his entire army, moved down from his headquarters at Fort Seneca, on the Sandusky river, first to Fort Stephenson at Fremont, and then to the old portage from Fort Sandoski, at Port Clinton. Here, following the example of the French expeditions of earlier times, he hauled his vessels and his supplies across the famous de Lery portage, where we now stand, ready to transport his army for a final conflict on the banks of the Thames. He constructed a fence across this peninsula in order to confine the thousands of horses connected with his command, until he should return from his expedition across the lake. Within the Marblehead peninsula, thus inclosed, he turned loose the horses to be guarded by a small force until his return. After the battle upon the Thames the victorious army returned to Port Clinton, gathered up their horses and supplies and joyfully started upon their homeward journey.

Thus it will be seen that my opening remarks were amply justified by the facts. The deeds here recorded deserve to be imprinted upon the memory of every citizen of Ohio. They should be reiterated in the presence of our children at home, and should be incorporated into the text-books prepared for the instruction of schools. As a slight effort to perpetuate their memory, we erect these monuments, and leave to future generations the record engraved upon these tablets. May no careless hand ever deface them, and no ruthless hand ever do them violence.

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MR. RICHARDSON'S ADDRESS.

This is a day for memory, when our thoughts revert to other times and scenes. We stand today upon historic ground. In the breezes there once floated over this spot the milk-white banner of Navarre, bespangled with the golden lilies of the Bourbon house. Here, too, floated the meteor flag of England—the cross

in a field of blood; and later was unfurled the starry banner of the free—which we love to think will never be supplanted.

We can close our eyes, and see again in imagination the swarms of bark canoes, touching with their bows the sandy shores, while files of painted warriors grasp and carry them across this narrow isthmus, to embark again upon the waters of the great lake. We can hear again the laughter and song of those merry sons of France as they glide in richly laden batteaux over the surface of lake or bay. We see the files of the soldiers of the line, the voyagers, the hunters and trappers as they make their way across this portage. Here, too, we hear the savage war-whoop, the rattle of musketry and see the smoking ruins of the old blockhouse, and the stark bodies of the slain.

You have done well to mark these places, for they teach the lessons of the past to those of the present and the future. The ceremonies here today give added evidence to the high state of civilization now attained. That people with no monuments to build have no history worth remembering. You build monuments to mark the pathway across this narrow neck of land, for it is the way by which civilization marched, and barbarism waged its unsuccessful resistance.

This was strategic ground. Here, to and fro, the contending strength of Britain and France ebbed and flowed in the Colonial wars. Here, far remote from the armies along the sea-board, Americans and British sought to serve the cause of king and country in the Revolutionary struggle; and here embarked those gallant sons of Virginia and Rhode Island, who saved the northwest and broke the power of Britain in 1813—William Henry Harrison and Oliver Hazard Perry.

Erect your stately monuments, unveil your tablets of enduring bronze that the youth of these more favored generations may pause and consider the rugged path—the bloody footprints—the suffering unto death by which our fathers won our priceless heritage of free institutions. Teach the lessons of the past, remembering that the triumphs already won are only to be enjoyed while they are deserved, the lesson, that our free institutions are ours only while we loyally preserve them under the salutary restraints of law.

We hear much in these latter days of reviving the rule of the people, as though the people had not always ruled this land. Who are "the people?" Some would have us believe that "the people" is some mighty separate entity other than the individual members of every community, who taken together constitute the whole people of each community. "The people," my friends, are simply you and me and all of us, with our individual needs, individual ambitions and individual rights that each may indulge and exercise freely so long as we do not try to interfere with every other individual in the indulgence and exercise of his ambition and his rights. Now, men have been for long ages engaged in devising something to make human relations possible, where each shall be free, and yet bound to respect the freedom of every other individual. That something is called law.

Freedom under law is not a mushroom growth. It is the product of long ages of evolution through tears and blood, because it had human greed and avarice coupled with ignorance and degradation to contend against.

America has been for a century and a quarter the great exemplar of this highest achievement in the science of free government. Shall we throw it all away at the demand of the demagogue who, using "the people" as a name to conjure with, seeks the overthrow of the representative form of government founded by the fathers? Under it, we have made the most marvelous material, intellectual and social progress the world has ever seen. There are those, who, impatient of restraint, seeking short cuts to selfish ends loudly proclaim that our constitution is outgrown and obsolete. They would pluck the fruit and kill the tree. They do not know its first principles. It has met successfully every exigency of our national life, and is no more obsolete than is the "Sermon on the Mount."

If your reading of history has taught you any one thing more than another, it is this: That every great crime against civilization has been committed in the name of "the people." Every great despotism that has cursed the world, has been set up by popular acclaim, either purchased or coerced.

Every civilization that has crumbled into ruin has gone to

its doom because men quenched the fires upon the altars of their religion and corrupted the people by appeals to their cupidity.

There are some aspects of our national politics which at this present time would be laughable if they were not so serious in possible consequences. I doubt not that if Phinius T. Barnum were alive now, he would recognize a great opportunity, and he would probably be working his old game of fooling the American public by running for the presidential nomination, with "Let the people rule and elect me" inscribed upon his banner.

The serious thing about it is, that matches in the hands of vicious boys near a straw-stack, with the wind toward the house and barn—make a combination that needs watching.

Our population, being much more inflammable than when cool blood of northern latitudes predominated, is more in danger than ever, for the violent harangue of the oratorical firebrand who has his own "axe to grind."

These patriotic societies will do their full duty only, as they strive to educate the mind and awaken the conscience, so that men may heed the lessons of the past and feel their moral responsibility to the present.

Thus, may we also place the coming generations in our debt, because, in these times of class animosities and factional confusion, we will have stood fast by the principles of the fathers, proven by the test of time and experience.

The voices of the past—the spirit of our fathers—the call of ancestral ties—speak to us today. We bear a grave responsibility laid upon us by our very blood and lineage. Shall we not resolve to do our part worthily, that the principle of representative self-government, by free men under the restraints of just and equitable laws, shall not perish from the earth?

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INSCRIPTION ON MONUMENT OLD FORT SANDOSKI, OF 1745.

[West Face]

FORT SANDOSKI,

1745-1748, 1750-1751, 1761-1763

"The first fort built by white men in Ohio, erected by British traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia in 1745, under the protection of the Huron Chief, Nicolas, and destroyed by him after his defeat by the

French, in 1748, prior to his removal to the Illinois Country. Rebuilt by the British in 1750, 'usurped by the French in 1751,' again rebuilt by British soldiers in 1761 after the surrender of Quebec and French sovereignty in America, and finally destroyed at the outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy on May 18, 1763, when the fort was burned and the entire garrison massacred with the exception of the commandant, Ensign Pauli, who was carried off a prisoner to Pontiac, then besieging Detroit."

Erected by The Ohio Society, Colonial Dames of America.

[South Face]

FRENCH EXPEDITION, 1754.

*Across the de Lery Portage from Quebec to Detroit and Michilimackinac (Mackinac)*

as noted in the Journal of the Chevalier Chaussegros de Lery, who, on August 4, 1754, landed near this spot "and discovered the ruins of the old fort."

FORT SANDOSKI, 1745-1748, 1750-1751

Monsieur Pean, Captain, Regimental Adjutant of Quebec,		
	Commanding	1
Monsieur St. Martin, Acting Major		
Monsieur Lery		
Monsieur St. Ours	Lieutenants	3
Monsieur Riganville		
Monsieur Desmeloises		
Monsieur Porneouf		
Monsieur Cournover	Ensigns	4
Father Bonnecamp, Jesuit		1
Monsieur Forget Duverger, Jesuit of the Missions étrangères		1
Monsieur Mauvilles		
Monsieur Vigee		
Monsieur Garon	Surgeons	3
Monsieur Laforge, store keeper		1
Monsieur Constant, an old interpreter		1
27 canoes, each carrying 10 men		270
		—
		285

Tablet presented by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

[North Face]

BRITISH EXPEDITION, 1760.

"Across the De Lery portage from Quebec to Detroit and Michilimackinac to take over the French forts on the great lakes after the

surrender of Quebec and French sovereignty in America, as noted in the journals of Major Robert Rogers, commanding his majesty's independent companies of rangers, who on the 18th of November, 1760, from his camp on Sandusky Lake demanded the surrender of Detroit." "To Capt. Beleter or the Officer commanding at Detroit:

"Sir, I have Gen. Amherst's orders to take possession of Detroit and such other posts as are in that district, which by capitulation agreed to between the Marquis de Vandreuil and his excellency Major Gen. Amherst the 8th of September last, now belong to the King of Great Britain."

"Leaving Detroit 'on the 23d Dec. set out for Pittsburgh and marching along the west end of Lake Erie till the 2d of January, 1761, when we arrived at Lake Sandusky,' where the British for the third time built Fort Sandoski, leaving 'Ensign Pauli and fifteen men at Sandusky,' where he remained until the outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy, when on the 18th of May, 1763, the Fort was burned, the entire garrison massacred with the exception of the Commandant Ensign Pauli, who was carried a prisoner to Pontiac, then besieging Detroit.'

Tablet presented by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

[East Face].

AMERICAN EXPEDITION, 1813

"Across the de Lery portage from Fort Seneca to Detroit, as noted in Captain R. B. McAfee's History, 1816.

"Major General Harrison on receiving word of Commodore Perry's victory, proceeded to Fort Stephenson and 'issued his orders for the movement of the troops and transportation of the provision, military stores, etc., to the margin of the lake, preparatory to their embarkation.' The troops were marched down the old Sandusky-Scioto trail to its northern terminus on Lake Erie.

"In bringing down the military stores and provisions from the posts on the Sandusky River to the vessels in the lake, a short land carriage became necessary to expedite embarkation. It was deemed more safe and expeditious to transport the stores and drag the boats across the isthmus, which was accomplished between the 15th and 20th of the month (September, 1813). Each regiment was ordered to construct a strong fence of brush and fallen timber in front of its encampment, which extended from Portage River to Sandusky River. Within this inclosure their horses were turned loose to graze on ample pastures of excellent grass."

Tablet presented by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

INSCRIPTION ON HARRISON-PERRY EMBARKATION MONUMENT.

[South Face]

OLD FRENCH WAR—PONTIAC CONSPIRACY—REVOLUTIONARY WAR

“Northern terminus of the old Indian water way and land trail, Sandusky-Scioto Route from Lake Erie to the Ohio River, used from the earliest records by Indian and French hunters, explorers, missionaries and war parties, in passing from the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes to the Ohio and Mississippi, and later known as the Harrison Trail of the War of 1812. On landing near this spot their light water craft were portaged fifty-seven arpents from Lake Erie across to Lac Sandoski, up the Sandusky River, across the Sandusky-Scioto portage and down the Scioto to the Ohio and Mississippi.”

“The Sandusky-Scioto trail along the banks of these rivers was the common battle ground of the French from Detroit and the British from Fort Pitt during the old French War, prior to the surrender of French sovereignty in America to Great Britain in 1760.

“Colonel John Bradstreet’s expedition for the recovery of the nine British posts captured in Pontiac’s conspiracy sailed their larger water craft—sixty long boats, with 1,400 men—into Sandusky Bay, up to the lower falls of the Sandusky (Fremont), where they encamped Sept. 20, 1764, the westernmost point reached. Returning, camped near where the old fort stood on the carrying place between Lakes Sandusky and Erie, where Major Israel Putnam began ‘clearing the ground to construct a fort,’ but October 18 whole decamped and embarked for Niagara.”

“During the Revolutionary War Major de Peyster, the British Commandant, sent Butler’s rangers with cannon from Detroit up to the lower falls of the Sandusky, where they supported the Indians in the repulse of Crawford’s expedition in 1782, which culminated in the burning of Colonel Crawford at the stake.

“Later the British established a post at Lower Sandusky (Fremont).

“Erected by the Ohio Society, Daughters of the American Revolution.”

[West Face.]

WAR OF 1812.

“Captain Barclay’s British fleet transporting General Proctor’s British Army sailed up the Sandusky River to make their assault on Fort Stephenson, Aug. 1 and 2, 1813, of which General Sherman wrote:

“‘The defense of Fort Stephenson by Croghan and his gallant little band was the necessary precursor to Perry’s victory off the lakes and of General Harrison’s triumphant victory at the battle of the Thames. These assured to our immediate ancestors the mastery of the

great West, and from that day to this the West has been the bulwark of this nation.'

"General Harrison sent expert riflemen from his army to help serve the guns on Commodore Perry's ships in the naval battle with the British fleet off this landing, from which on Sept. 10, 1813, Perry sent the following laconic note: 'We have met the enemy and they are ours, two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop.'

"General Harrison immediately marched his troops over the old Sandusky-Scioto trail to this landing, but transported the stores down the Sandusky River and dragged the boats across the de Lery portage from Sandusky Bay to Lake Erie. The troops constructed a strong fence of brush and fallen timber across from Portage River to Sandusky River. Within this inclosure their horses were turned loose. General Harrison's army embarked on Commodore Perry's ships Sept. 20, stopped at Put-in-Bay and Middle Sister Island and landed in Canada Sept. 27, where Proctor with his British regulars was defeated and Tecumseh with many of his Indians killed in the battle of the Thames, Oct. 5, 1813.

"The returning Ohio and Kentucky volunteers with their British prisoners collected their horses here, marched to their home over the old Sandusky-Scioto trail, which has since been known as the Harrison trail of the war of 1812.

"Erected by the National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812, State of Ohio."

Monuments of boulders from the Marblehead Peninsula, ten feet in height by 5 feet square at the base, erected by the Business Men's Association of Port Clinton. Inscriptions prepared by Colonel Hayes, and tablets manufactured at the Rock Island (Ill.) Arsenal.



## THE COPUS BATTLE CENTENNIAL

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BY REV. EUGENE ELLIS WILLIAMS.

Sept. 15, 1912, the day of the centennial of the Copus Battle was a very gloomy day, with rain from early morning until evening. But despite the inclement weather about 1,000 people gathered in Milligan's grove, near the Copus monument situated near Mifflin, ten miles east of Mansfield.

At 11 o'clock Prof. G. F. Wright, of Oberlin, called the meeting to order and after singing America, Rev. Eugene E. Williams offered prayer. Prof. Wright then gave an address regarding the geology and early history of the country near which the battle was fought. Hon. W. S. Kerr, of Mansfield, then gave an interesting historical address in which he showed the honor that belonged to the early settlers and especially those who fell during the Indian massacres. Mr. P. C. Cowen, of Perrysville, read an historical paper recounting the names and deeds of the pioneers of the immediate community.

After the addresses a sumptuous basket dinner was eaten by those present. The rain still persisted in a steady downpour, the crowd began to disperse and the exercises of the day came to an end. Had the weather been favorable there would, no doubt, have been 12 to 15 thousand people present, because extensive preparations had been made by people for miles around.

The publicity that the Centennial gave to matters of local history was of great value in getting before the people the value of preserving these historical events and landmarks. It also brought the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society before the people in a favorable manner. Prof. Wright, our president, won interest in the society.

The local committee, Mr. A. J. Baughman and Rev. Eugene E. Williams, both life members of the Society, had arranged an excellent program and had spent considerable time and effort in

getting the centennial well planned and advertised. They had the co-operation of the best citizens of the community.

In May, 1782, the ill-fated expedition under command of Col. Wm. Crawford, the friend of George Washington, passed thru Wayne, Holmes, Ashland, Richmond and Crawford counties on its way to the Indian settlements on the Sandusky River. On the banks of the Clearfork, in what is now Ashland County, he stopped at an Indian village called "Helltown," a German name meaning village by the clear stream. "This village was the home of Thomas Lyon, Billy Montour, Thomas Jelloway, Billy Dowdy, Thomas Armstrong, and other leading Delawares; and the occasional residence of the noted Captain Pipe, who aided in the execution of the unfortunate Col. Wm. Crawford."<sup>1</sup> The next year the village was abandoned, most of the inhabitants going to the north bank of the Blackfork where they founded the village of Greentown. This village was named for Thomas Green, a Connecticut Tory and renegade. It was composed of Delaware, Mingo, and Mohawk Indians, with Captain Thomas Armstrong as chief, and was situated three miles north of Perrysville on a farm now owned by Pierce Royer or Martin Weirick. It consisted of about four acres, and was nearly surrounded by alder marshes, making it almost impregnable from an attack by the enemy. The huts numbered about 150, with a council-house and a cemetery; the cemetery is supposed to contain the remains of Thomas Green, the founder. "From 1783 to 1795 this village was a point on the route from Upper Sandusky to Fort Pitt, and many trembling captives passed thru it on their way to Detroit or other points in the Indian country."<sup>1</sup> "The cabins comprising the village stood principally upon the rolling plateau-like summit of the hill, each Indian selecting a site to suit himself, with but little regard for streets or regularity. A sycamore tree, which in the olden time cast its shade over the council-house of the tribe, still stands like a monument from the past, grim and white, stretching its branches like skeleton arms, in the attitude of a benediction. A wild-cherry tree stands several rods northeast,

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<sup>1</sup>History of Ashland County, Ohio, by G. W. Hill, M. D., 34.

around which was formerly a circular mound."<sup>2</sup> It was the burning of this Indian village in August, 1812, that caused the Indian uprising which led to the death of Martin Ruffner, the Seymour family, and the Copus battle.



The Copus Monument. In memory of the Copus Family massacred by the Indians, September 15, 1812. Situated near Mifflin, ten miles east of Mansfield.

<sup>2</sup>A. J. Baughman, in appendix to Philip Seymour, by Rev. James F. McGaw.

It was in the first decade of the nineteenth century that the first white settlements were made in what are now Richland and Ashland Counties. The first permanent settler in Richland County was Jacob Newman, who settled on the banks of the Rockyfork in the spring of 1807. He built his cabin near a spring. Not long after the erection of his cabin he began the erection of a grist-mill on the Rockyfork, which was purchased and completed by Jacob Beam, and became widely known as Beam's Mill. In 1812, Mr. Beam built a block-house near his mill, and it was here that soldiers under Captain Abraham Martin and Captain Simon Beymer of the 3rd (Bay's) Regiment, were stationed.

In March, 1809, Rev. James Copus, a hatter by trade, moved with his family of nine children near the banks of the Blackfork where he erected a temporary cabin. This cabin was located about three-fourths of a mile northeast of what is now called Charles' mill, on what is called Zimmer's Run. "The cabin was constructed by planting two forks in the ground about twenty feet apart, and placing a ridge pole on them, and then leaning split timber against the pole, making a sort of shed roof, the base being about twelve feet wide, leaving a small opening at the top for the escape of smoke. The ends were closed by setting poles in the ground, leaving a door at one end. The cracks were carefully closed with moss gathered from old logs. The floor consisted of the smooth, well packed earth. In this rude structure James Copus and family resided for a period of about eighteen months."<sup>3</sup> In the spring of 1810 he erected a cabin about three-fourths of a mile from the Blackfork, where he was living at the time of the battle in which he lost his life. It was located at, or near, where the Copus monument now stands. Mr. Copus was born in Greene Co., Pa., in 1775, and married in 1796. He was of German descent, a man of firm convictions and upright character. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, and frequently preached to the Indians, by whom he was respected as a man of integrity. His permanent cabin was built near an excellent spring which gushed out of the ground, at the foot of the hill, furnishing water for the family and stock. A ridge of ground about 75

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<sup>3</sup>History of Ashland County, by Hill.

feet high was on one side of the cabin, and on the other side was a valley of rich and beautiful land. Mr. Copus had cleared about twenty acres of the land and enclosed it with a rail fence. It was here that he resided when the War of 1812 began.

Dr. G. W. Hill, in his History of Ashland County, gives the following account of an Indian feast that Mr. Copus attended. "In the fall of 1809 he attended an Indian feast at Greentown, where he met James Cunningham and other new settlers. . . . . The refreshments (?) consisted of boiled venison and bear meat, somewhat tainted, and not very palatable to the white guests. The ceremonies took place in the council house, a building composed of clap-boards and poles, some thirty feet wide, and perhaps fifty feet long. When the Indians entered the council house, the squaws seated themselves on one side and the men on the other. There was a small elevation of earth in the center, eight or ten feet in diameter, which seemed to be a sort of sacrifice mound. The ceremonies were opened by a rude sort of music, made by beating upon a small copper kettle, and pots, over the mouths of which dried skins had been stretched. This was accompanied by a sort of song, which, as near as could be understood, ran; 'Tiny, tiny, tiny, ho, ha, ho, ha, ho!'—accenting the last syllables. Then a tall chief arose and addressed them. During the delivery of his speech, a profound silence prevailed. The whole audience observed the speaker, and seemed to be deeply moved by the oration. The speaker seemed to be about seventy years of age. He was tall and graceful. His eyes had the fire of youth, and blazed with emotion while he was speaking. The audience frequently sobbed, and seemed deeply affected. Mr. Copus could not understand the language of the address, but presumed the speaker was giving a summary history of the Delawares, two tribes of which, the 'Wolf' and the 'Turtle,' were represented at the feast. Mr. Copus learned that the distinguished chief who had addressed the meeting, was 'Old Captain Pipe,' of Mohican Johnstown, the executioner of the lamented Col. Crawford. At the close of the address dancing commenced. The Indians were neatly clothed in deer skin and English blankets. Deer hoofs and bear claws were strung along the seams of their leggins, and when the dance commenced, the

jingling of the hoofs and claws gave a rude sort of harmony to the wild music made upon the pots and kettles. The men danced in files or lines, by themselves around the central mound, and the squaws followed in a company by themselves. In the dance there seemed to be a proper sense of modesty between the sexes. In fact, the Greentown Indians were always noted for being extremely scrupulous and modest in the presence of others. After the dance, the refreshments were handed around. Not relishing the appearance of the food, Mr. Copus and the other whites present, carefully concealed the portions handed them until they left the wigwam, and then threw them away. No greater insult could be offered an Indian, than to refuse to accept the food proffered by him. So those present had to use a little deception to evade the censure of the Indians.”

Among other settlers at the beginning of the War of 1812 were the following: David Hill who, in 1809, made the first settlement in what is now Lucas, on the lot now owned by Silas Rummell; Captain James Cunningham, James Smith, John and David Davis, Abraham Baughman, Peter Kinney, Martin Ruffner, Frederick Zimmer (Zeimer or Seymour), Samuel Lewis, Henry McCart, Archibald Gardner, Andrew Craig, John Lambright, John and Thomas Coulter, Allen Oliver, Calvin and Joseph Hill, Ebenezer Rice, Joseph Jones, Charles and Melzer Tannyhill, Jeremiah Conine, George Crawford, Edward Haley, Lewis and Solomon Hill, Moses Adzit, Sylvester Fisher, Otho Simmons, Simon Rowland, Richard Hughes, and Henry Smith. These settlers were mostly on the banks of the Blackfork, Rocky-fork or Clearfork rivers.

When war between England and the United States was declared, June 18, 1812, Ohio became at once the theater of some of the most important incidents of the war. At almost the beginning, August 16, Gen. Wm. Hull ingloriously surrendered Detroit to General Brock. This act of cowardice rendered the Ohio country almost defenseless against the Indians. The first engagement with the Indians is said to have been on Marblehead peninsula in Ottawa County.<sup>4</sup> From this time many battles

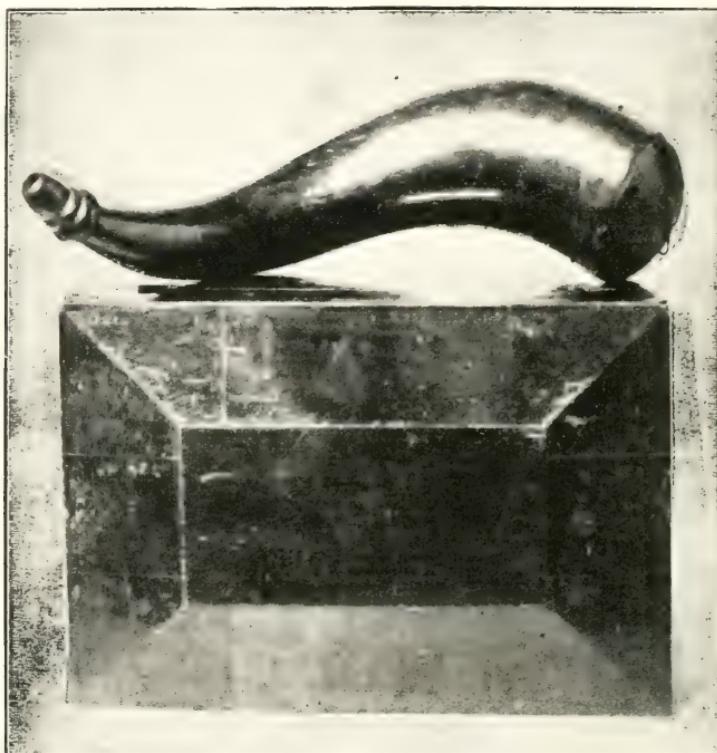
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<sup>4</sup>Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. Pub., XIV., 97.

and skirmishes between the whites and Indians caused the ground to be red with blood.

At the outbreak of hostilities Col. Samuel Kratzer, of Knox County, arrived at Mansfield and took command of the soldiers stationed at the various blockhouses. One blockhouse at Mansfield was under Captain Shaffer of Fairfield County, and the other under Captain Williams of Coshocton County. The soldiers at Beam's blockhouse were under the command of Captain Abraham Martin and Captain Simon Beymer. Early in September, Col. Kratzer sent Captain Douglass to Greentown to bring the Indians to Mansfield for the purpose of sending them to Piqua, or Urbana, fearing that Tecumseh would influence them to join him in hostilities against the white settlers. Greentown was beautifully and strategically located and they hesitated to leave the place that had been their home for thirty years, and where many of their relatives were buried. When Captain Douglass requested the Indians to vacate their homes and remove to a distant place he did not meet with a hearty response. It was a delicate and dangerous mission he had to perform. To insist was to meet with resistance; to fail in the enterprise was to be reprimanded by his commanding officer. In his dilemma he found his way to the cabin of the friend and adviser of the Indians—James Copus—and solicited his aid in the undertaking. In this he acted wisely, for Captain Armstrong, the chief, had about eighty warriors and could maintain his position with great loss to the whites. So Captain Douglass went to the man whom he thought could render him assistance and thus avert bloodshed. But James Copus was not a man to do a thing he thought to be wrong. He had lived neighbor to these Indians for three years and had found them peaceable. He had preached to them the principles of Christianity and did not want to do anything that would belie his teaching. He, therefore, refused to do as Captain Douglas desired. He endeavored to show that the Indians had certain rights which must be respected; that it was wrong to take them from their homes; and that if they should be removed he would be blamed as being responsible for it. But all of this was of no avail. The Captain not only urged, but

commanded him to do as requested. Mr. Copus, fearing that Douglass would expel the Indians by force, finally consented to accompany him on condition that the property of the Indians should not be molested. He was given this assurance by Captain Douglass, who, doubtless, intended to keep his word. Mr. Copus took with him his three sons, Henry, James and Wesley,



Powder Horn and Ammunition Box used in the Copus Battle,  
September 15, 1812.

and accompanied Douglass to Greentown, about three miles distant. Upon arriving at the village they found the Indians greatly excited at the prospect of being driven from their homes. Captain Thomas Armstrong, the chief, was a small, dignified man about sixty-five years old. His Indian name was Pamoxet. He was not a full-blooded Indian, but had lived so long with them that he had become one of them. He and Mr. Copus were very

good friends. He had often visited the Copus cabin, and one season had made sugar there. They had often enjoyed the back-woods sports together. No wonder, therefore, that Mr. Copus did not want to ask the Indians to leave. When Douglass approached the chief the second time he found him trembling with emotion and excitement. He asked Mr. Copus if the property of the Indians would be protected, and upon being told that Captain Douglass had promised that not only the Indians themselves should be protected, but that their property also should remain intact, the chief reluctantly consented to accompany the soldiers to the blockhouse at Mansfield. With feelings of regret and sorrow the Indians prepared to leave their homes. It was a sad sight to see them start on the journey. Many of them kept looking back to get the last glimpse of the place that had been their camping-ground for thirty years. Finally some one detected what looked like smoke arising from their late homes, and before they had proceeded much further their fears were confirmed. A few straggling soldiers had tarried behind and had wantonly applied the torch to the Indian village and Greentown was disappearing in smoke. This was done, they claimed, in revenge for their relatives who had been slain by Indians. Some of the Indians swore vengeance, and subsequent events proved that they found it. Mr. Copus was chagrined at finding that the pledges given to the Indians had not been kept, and feared that he might be in danger from their desire for revenge, since he had advised them to leave their homes under promise of protection. But he soon found composure and went on his usual rounds of back-woods duties. Before leaving the village an inventory of their property was taken by Captain James Cunningham and Peter Kinney. The Indians were taken across the Blackfork to the new State road, on thru Lucas, and finally encamped in the ravine southwest of what is now the public square in Mansfield. After being joined by Indians from Jeromeville, they were taken by Col. Kratzer to Piqua.

In the spring of 1812, Martin Ruffner, a native of Shenandoah County, Va., settled on Staman's Run, half a mile northwest of what is now Mifflin, in Ashland County, Ohio. Here he built a cabin on the brow of a hill not far from the Blackfork. He,

and a boy named Levi Berkinhizer (Bargahiser), lived at the cabin and proceeded to clear some land preparatory to the arrival of his family. Near his cabin was the cabin of his brother-in-law, Richard Hughes, with whom Mr. Ruffner's mother and nineteen year old brother, Michael, lived. Mr. Ruffner's wife and child arrived later in the summer, but upon hearing of the surrender of Hull at Detroit he had sent them to Licking County. Several of his relatives had been killed by the Indians and he had consequently become the unconquerable foe of the Red-man.

About two and one-half miles southeast of the Ruffner cabin Frederick Zimmer (Zeimer or Seymour), a native of Germany, but who had resided in Pickaway County, erected a cabin for his family consisting of his wife, daughter Catherine, and son Philip, aged nineteen. Mr. Zimmer was a man of some means and had purchased land in Pickaway County, where he had left some of his married sons. He at once began to improve his recently acquired home in Richland (now Ashland) County. Being an old man and unable to work but little, he hired Michael Ruffner to assist in preparing about fifteen acres for corn.

On the afternoon of September 10th, 1812, this young man, Michael Ruffner, was on his way along the trail leading to the cabin of his brother, when he met two (perhaps more) Indians carrying guns, knives and tomahawks, and who seemed very friendly. They inquired if the Zimmers were at home, and upon being informed that they were the Indians passed on into the forest and disappeared. Michael hastened to tell his brother Martin what he had seen and heard. Martin at once became suspicious and mounting a fleet horse hastened down the trail to warn the Zimmers of the suspected danger. Arriving before the Indians had put in an appearance, the pioneers soon decided to send Philip Zimmer to warn the other settlers of the impending danger. He first went to the cabin of James Copus, who lived about two miles further down the trail. From there he went to John Lambright's who had erected a cabin two miles further south on the Blackfork. Lambright, Copus and Philip Zimmer hastened to the Zimmer cabin arriving there early in the evening. Everything was as silent as midnight and finding no light in the cabin grave fears were entertained that the occupants had met

a terrible fate. Mr. Copus went cautiously to the window and listened, but no sound greeted his ears. He then went to the door, which he found ajar, but upon pressing against it he found that it did not move. He then felt on the floor, when, to his horror, his hand was wet with blood. There was no longer any uncertainty as to the fate of the inmates of the cabin. Hastening to where Philip and Lambright were stationed he told them what he had found. Young Zimmer became frantic at the thought of the death of his aged parents and sister. He rushed to the cabin to see for himself, but was restrained from entering for fear that the Indians were secreted there awaiting his arrival, and that he would share the same fate. Fearing to remain longer at the Zimmer cabin, Copus and Lambright persuaded Philip Zimmer to accompany them to the home of Mr. Copus who took his family to the home of Mr. Lambright where they were joined by the Lambright family. From there they went to the home of Frederick Zimmer, Jr., whose family also joined the frightened pioneers in their flight. They all hastened along the trail to the cabin of David Hill, where Lucas now stands, and there were lodged over night. When morning arrived they, together with the Hill family, went to the blockhouse at Beam's Mill, where they remained a few days.

The same day of their arrival at the blockhouse Philip and Frederick Zimmer, with Copus, Hill and Lambright, accompanied by an escort of soldiers, went to the cabin of Martin Ruffner and Richard Hughes, but found nothing molested. Here they were joined by the lad, Levi Berkinhizer (Bargahiser), also Michael Ruffner and Richard Hughes. They all proceeded to the Zimmer cabin where a horrible sight awaited them. There upon the floor they found the dead and mangled bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Zimmer, and their daughter Catherine. Mr. Zimmer had been scalped. Tradition says that an Indian, Philip Kanotchy, afterward gave the details of the murder, stating that the beautiful Catherine was the last to be killed. At the time of her death she was engaged to be married to Jedediah Smith. He afterwards married and reared a family, the descendants of which still reside in Washington township, Richland County. Thus ended the career of beautiful, beloved Kate Zimmer. In the yard the recon-

noitering party found the body of heroic Martin Ruffner. From every evidence he had made a desperate struggle for his life. Several of his fingers had been severed by blows from a tomahawk, and his gun was bent nearly double, showing that he had used it in clubbing the savages. He was also shot twice thru the body and then scalped. From the appearance of the table in the cabin, refreshments had been prepared, but not eaten. The bodies of the dead were carefully placed in a single grave on the knoll a short distance from the cabin, where a monument now marks the spot. The farm was sold by Philip Zimmer to Michael Culler, and is now owned by the heirs of the late Boston Culler.

After burying the bodies of Martin Ruffner and the Zimmer family, the party retraced their steps to the blockhouse at Beam's Mill. But Mr. Copus was not accustomed to sit around and idle away his time. Besides that he had confidence in the friendship which had previously existed between himself and the neighboring Indians. He, therefore, decided to return to his cabin near the Blackfork. To this desire Captain Martin objected. He urged that the unsettled condition of the Indians made it dangerous to be away from the blockhouse. But Mr. Copus was determined to go, and could not be dissuaded. On the afternoon of September 14, 1812, he set out with his family of nine children for his cabin, accompanied by nine soldiers as a protection. Upon arriving at the cabin they found it and the stock as they had left it. When the evening shades began to gather Mr. Copus invited the soldiers to share the hospitality of his cabin, but since the night was warm, and the soldiers desired to indulge in sports, they declined his invitation and decided to sleep in the barn, about four rods north of the cabin. Mr. Copus cautioned the soldiers to be on their guard against surprise by the Indians who might be lurking about. During the afternoon Sarah Copus, aged twelve, saw some Indians in the cornfield south of the cabin, but had said nothing to her father about it. During the night the dogs kept up an almost incessant barking, and Mr. Copus slept but little. A short time before daybreak he invited the soldiers into the cabin and informed them of his fears. He then lay down to rest and the soldiers went to the spring, near the cabin, to wash. He again warned

them to take their guns with them, since he was certain that Indians were lurking near the cabin because of the constant barking of his dogs, and the peculiar premonitions he had received during the night. The soldiers started with their guns, but instead of keeping them by their side, leaned them against the side of the cabin. The Indians had been watching for just such an opportunity as the carelessness of the soldiers offered. While the soldiers had been showing such indifference to the warnings they had received, the Red-man of the forest had stealthily, yet swiftly, stolen upon them, as a tiger springs upon its prey. The soldiers had scarcely reached the spring and begun their ablutions when the terrible war-whoop of the savages was heard. Instantly the distance between the spring and where their guns had been left leaning against the cabin was filled with yelling Indians, shooting and tomahawking the soldiers. Of the soldiers at the spring three fell from the blows of the savages and were instantly scalped. Three more fled into the woods; these were George Shipley, John Tedrick, and Mr. Warnock. Shipley and Tedrick were soon overtaken by the Indians, tomahawked and scalped. But Warnock was swifter of foot and outran the savages, who finally shot him in the bowels; he stuffed his handkerchief into the wound and ran behind a tree, where his dead body was found some time after. A soldier named George Dye, of Captain Simon Beymer's company, finding that his approach to the cabin was cut off decided upon a heroic and strategic method. He rushed to the door of the cabin and paused long enough for the savages to take aim, and then by a mighty leap sprang for the door, entering it with a broken hip caused by a bullet from the gun of a warrior. It is stated that several pints of bullets struck the spot where he had stopped just before springing into the cabin. This now made three soldiers in the cabin, for two of them had not gone to the spring with the other seven. One by the name of George Launtz proved himself worthy of his profession. While the soldiers on the outside of the cabin were meeting their death, those on the inside were having an interesting experience. Launtz had climbed up to the loft and while removing the clay and chinking had his arm broken by a ball from a rifle of an enemy. But

he was undaunted. He soon saw the head of an Indian protruding from behind a scrub oak standing on the hill overlooking the cabin; he took aim, fired, and the Red-skin bounded into the air and tumbled down the hill into the trail that wended its way past the cabin. The most important person engaged in the conflict was the owner of the premises, James Copus, the friend of the Indian. Upon hearing the war-whoop of the Indians Mr. Copus sprang from his bed, seized his trusty gun and rushed to the door just as Dye was about to enter. He at once saw an Indian pointing his gun at him ready to fire when Mr. Copus leveled his rifle and fired simultaneous with the Indian; both were mortally wounded. Mr. Copus was carried to a bed, where he expired in about an hour; he died encouraging the soldiers to protect his family. The ball that caused his death passed thru the leather strap which supported his powder-horn.<sup>5</sup> On the hill just opposite the cabin was a growth of dwarfed timber which afforded protection for the Indians, who poured an almost incessant storm of bullets against the cabin. The door of the cabin was soon riddled with bullets, but the puncheon floor was torn up and stood against it to afford protection against the enemy. The logs of the cabin were literally filled with the missiles from the savage denizens of the forest. The Indians climbed upon the hill and fired down upon the roof of the cabin, but all to no avail. The only inmate of the cabin, except Mr. Launtz, to be wounded was ten-year-old Nancy Copus, who was wounded in the knee. During the engagement a wounded savage was seen crawling upon the ground endeavoring to reach the trail. At times he would look toward the cabin and attempt to raise his gun and shoot, but his efforts were soon stopped by a ball from the rifle of one of the soldiers, who shot him thru the head.

The engagement lasted until about ten o'clock, when the Indians finding that they could neither kill nor dislodge the occupants of the cabin, retreated, taking most of their wounded

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<sup>5</sup>This powder-horn is now in the possession of Mr. H. H. Becker, who married Miss Minnie Copus, daughter of Madison Copus, son of Wesley, who was the son of James Copus.

and killed with them. But before leaving they sent a farewell volley of bullets into the flock of sheep which had been the silent and sad spectators of the events of the morning. The sheep tumbled down the hill into a heap in the trail. These were the same sheep that were seen early in the morning looking down upon some interesting object in the corn field below. With a savage yell the Indians were gone, to the great delight of the almost exhausted defenders of the cabin. How many Indians were killed is uncertain. The number engaged in the battle is supposed to have been forty-five, because there were found forty-five holes in the ground, where forty-five ears of corn had been roasted. No sooner had the enemy disappeared than a soldier lifted some of the clapboards off the roof making a hole thru which he escaped, and ran in haste to the blockhouse at Beam's Mill notifying the soldiers of what had taken place, and asking assistance. But Captain Martin was not at the Blockhouse. The day before, when the Copus family and the nine soldiers left the blockhouse, the Captain promised that he would be at the cabin that evening and see if there was any danger that would require their presence. But having scouted all day without finding any signs of Indians decided to camp for the night. In the morning they started leisurely for the Copus cabin. Several times they heard the shooting, but thought it was the soldiers at target practice. On approaching the cabin they skulked along as if they were Indians, but soon discovered that there was something wrong and a practical joke was out of place. Captain Martin and his soldiers<sup>6</sup> were horrified to find their dead comrades at the spring and the dead body of Mr. Copus in the cabin. It was especially horrifying to Captain Martin, since he might have averted the battle had he kept his agreement and arrived the day before. The trail of the Indians was at once followed, but they had disappeared around the southern bluff of the hill and were lost among the weeds in the ravine, and were soon out of reach. The dead soldiers and Mr. Copus were buried together in a large grave at the foot of an apple tree, near the south side of the cabin. Cap-

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\*One of the soldiers of the rescuing party was Nehemiah Williams, grandfather of the writer of this sketch.

tain James Cunningham assisted in burying the dead.<sup>7</sup> The dead included Mr. James Copus, George Shipley, John Tedrick, and the three unnamed soldiers who fell at the spring. Captain Martin and his soldiers then took the Copus family and the wounded soldiers and proceeded up the valley about half a mile where they encamped for the night, after placing guards around the camp to prevent surprise by the Indians who might still be lurking in the vicinity. There were about one hundred in the camp that night. It is quite likely that there was very little sleep. The next morning the little band continued on the trail passing near the deserted cabin of Martin Ruffner, reaching the block-house at Beam's Mill that evening.

About six weeks after the battle Henry Copus and a half dozen soldiers returned to the Copus cabin. They found the dead body of Mr. Warnock leaning against a tree. A grave was dug near by and his body buried. They also found the bodies of the two Indians which had been left when their comrades had retreated from the field of conflict. One Indian was in the front yard; this doubtless was the one who was shot by Mr. Copus. The other was in the trail near the foot of the oak tree, where he had been shot by Mr. Launtz. The bodies of the Indians were left where they fell, and were, no doubt, devoured by wolves which were numerous at that time.

For about two months Mrs. Copus and her children remained at the block-house at Beam's Mill. They were taken by Joseph Archer and George Carroll to near Claysville, Guernsey County. The journey required many days over a rough road thru the unbroken wilderness. Part of the way they had to walk, and at best the trip was one of great hardship. Almost any moment they might expect to see an Indian spring from behind a tree and send his tomahawk into the brain of some of the company.

Mrs. Copus and her children remained in Guernsey County until the spring of 1815 when they returned to their neighborhood near the banks of the Blackfork. Mrs. Copus afterwards married John Vail, by whom she had one daughter who became the wife of Peter S. VanGilder.

<sup>7</sup>Captain Cunningham was the grandfather of Mr. A. J. Baughman, the historian, who is trustee of The Ohio State Arch. & His. Society.

Mrs. (Copus) Vail lived fifty years after the battle in which her first husband was killed. She saw a great transformation take place in the wilderness along the banks of the Blackfork, near which they had built their first cabin in 1809. She died December 8, 1862, aged eighty-seven years, three months, and seven days. Her body now rests in a cemetery near the place where the battle occurred.



## SOME DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF OHIO.

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BY GEORGE DAVENPORT KRATZ, AKRON.

In undertaking to edit the following expresses and communications I have made no attempt to form any connection between them or, to draw any conclusions from the import of the letters taken separately. The nature of the communications prohibits such a procedure. My part has been merely to preface several of the documents with a few remarks relative to the state of affairs at the time they were written.

In regard to the original documents, I wish to say that they have been in my possession for several years. To the best of my knowledge they have never been exhibited or printed during, or previous to, the time I have had them. Although the documents are for the most part in good condition and easily legible, which has obviated any trouble in reading them, the proper place for them is not obscurity in my own hands but contributed to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society as Documental History.

The first express is relative to the condition of affairs at Urbana about the time of the first siege of Fort Meigs. It is addressed to Col. John Daugherty, Springfield. (Express.)

The letters from Fort Finly referred to in this express probably left that place during, or shortly after that place was itself attacked. From the date of this express it appears likely that the men mentioned as headed by Governor Meigs had set out under his command, soon after he had received a communication from Major William Oliver, dated April 29, 1813, describing the predicament of Fort Finly at that time. Oliver's letter, which is given in full in H. S. Knapp's History of the Maumee Valley (p. 159, 1877 Ed.), states that on April 28th the Indian allies of the British had attacked the fort from the opposite shore, the British themselves remaining below. The force of

the enemy was at this time estimated at 3,000 with an additional and unknown number of Indians in the vicinity.

Oliver on the date of his letter to Governor Meigs was in pursuit of General Clay. Having reached General Clay, Oliver returned to General Harrison then at Fort Meigs, arriving at that place on the night of May 4th. During the three days preceding Oliver's arrival, Harrison had been subjected to the fire of Indians who had climbed trees near the fort and, the British batteries on the left of the river. In this position General Harrison had been asked, by General Proctor who commanded the British troops, to surrender the garrison. Harrison refused to surrender and was soon reinforced by Clay as related above. Even after General Clay's timely arrival it was not until May 9th that General Proctor finding himself unable to take the fort, and, seeing his Indians fast leaving him raised the siege and retired to Malden. It was therefore only reasonable that the citizens of Urbana should feel the alarm expressed in the following communication:

URBANA, 8th May, 1813.

SIR: From letters received this day from Fort Finly we learn that Camp Meigs, the headquarters of the North Western Army is now closely besieged by the British and Indians and a constant cannonading kept up for several days. It is also stated that the firing of cannon has been heard at Fort Defiance. We learn that several hundred men have already marched from the Second Division headed by Governor Meigs who is to proceed on by Sandusky to Fort Finly and the Rapids. A number of citizens of this place and its vicinity have met to consult for the safety of the frontier and our companions in arms are of opinion that the only alternative that remains is to reinforce Genl. Harrison and reduce the enemy in the Wilderness, or shortly find him within our settlement. There being a considerable number of public arms at this place, and some ammunition, it is purposed by this meeting that all who can possibly leave their homes should at this all important juncture volunteer for a few days for the purpose of joining Gov. Meigs at Fort Finly and then determine whether to reinforce Genl. Harrison or guard our frontier until a regular draft can be made.

It is proposed that the persons who on this important occasion volunteer their service, do meet at this place, mounted and provided with at least eight days provisions, on Monday next, and proceed immediately on under the command of such persons as they may appoint. Those who cannot conveniently furnish themselves with provisions can be supplied along the different parts of the road. All expenses sent on to different Commts. will be regularly paid by application to Capt. Joseph Vance of this town.

COL. JOHN DAUGHERTY.

SAMUEL MCCOLLOCH,  
JOSEPH VANCE,  
JOHN ENOCH,  
DANIEL D. ARMSTRONG,  
JOHN W. VANCE,  
JOSEPH LEE,  
SAMUEL VANCE,  
D. MARKISON,  
JACOB —————,  
DUNCAN McARTHUR.

The second communication includes a copy of a hand bill that was forwarded to Urbana relative to the second siege of Fort Meigs. It is followed by correspondence from William Ward to G. Whiteman. Ward in the communication to Whiteman states the condition of affairs at Urbana and, adds a note concerning a rumored killing by the Indians between McArthurs and Menarys which he says cannot be confirmed. The only address this communication bears is, G. Whiteman or Col. Daugherty. No town or camp is given.

*Western Star Extra.*

IMPORTANT.

Extract of a letter from J. C. Bartlett to G. McArthur dated July 22nd at Upper Sandusky, 10 o'clock p. m., Oliver has this moment arrived from Fort Meigs with a verbal message from G. Clay to W. H. Harrison, informing him, that the British had again besieged that place. They were discovered on the opposite side of the river yesterday. The Indians had crossed

over in the night and had succeeded in killing and taking off seven of the picket guards. The force landed in view of the fort from their gunboats. They were estimated at 1,500 British troops, besides those who had taken their positions in the night. Early last night the enemy took possession of the point on this side of the river, 200 yards below the fort where they were erecting batteries; our batteries opened yesterday morning. We have heard several guns this evening; 10 or 12 gun-boats, (4 of them rigged) were in view when W. Oliver left the fort. I left G. Harrison this morning at lower Sandusky. The Commandant of the militia has at the request of the D. G. Master General, ordered out mounted men and companies if volunteers cannot be had to the relief of Fort Meigs.

*Scioto Gazette Extra.*—Col. Dankorn left Chillicothe last evening at 5 o'clock; an hour after Col. Bartlette's letter was received—he was overtaken by an express bringing a letter from G. McArthur stating that he had received orders from G. Harrison to turn out with all possible expedition all the force he possibly could. In consequence of which the whole of the Second Division has been ordered out. July 25, 1813.

#### G. WHITEMAN.

DEAR SIR: The above is a copy of a hand bill that came forward to Urbana which puts it out all doubt of the fort having been attacked. There is a few guns at Urbana, perhaps 200 to 250, some which was not fit for service when the others were carried away which has since been repaired and the balance was deposited by Col. Johnston's mounted men on their return home.

There has been a report in circulation that the Indians had killed some men between McArthurs and Menarys which may have reached you, but it can't be true as the source can't be traced.

I am yours,

WILLIAM WARD.

Another communication to Col. Daugherty relates the failure of several men to report at Urbana on August 27th. This communication is addressed to Col. J. Daugherty, Comdt. 2nd R., 4th B. 1st D. O., Militia. It reads as follows:

COL. DAUGHERTY,

SIR: The following persons who were drafted and ordered to rendezvous at Urbana on the 27th of August failed to appear.

Captain Coxes Company—John Hutchinson.

Ensign Clevengers Company—John Enoch, John Alburn, John Strawbridge.

HENRY VAN METER,

*Adgt. 2nd Regt. 4th Brigade,  
1st Division, Ohio Militia.*

The Fourth communication is from Duncan McArthur at Chillicothe and is addressed to Col. William Ward, or, Capt. Joseph Vance, Urbana, Ohio. The postscript is given as appended to the original document.

CHILlicothe, July 2, 1813.

GENTLEMEN: It appears from information just received from Sandusky that our outposts are again attacked. Every exertion is making here to raise volunteers. I purpose setting out immediately for the head of Paine, Lebanon, Xenia, and Urbana for the purpose of raising a few mounted volunteers, and trust that if the news should reach you before I do, that you will proceed with your usual exertions and success. I hope to be with you before you can possibly be ready to march. The Governor is here and will proceed up the Scioto and do all he can to raise volunteers. Expresses have been sent to Lancaster and Zanesville. There is a regiment of regulars on their march from Kentucky by this place. Do what you can; all are busy here. General Harrison we expect is at Fort Meigs. In haste yours,

DUNCAN McARTHUR.

COL. WARD.

COL. DAUGHERTY.

CAPT. VANCE.

JUDGE McCOLLOCH,

and all friends in the neighborhood of Urbana.

A Brigade Order of later date and addressed to Col. John Dougherty, or in his absence, Major Thomas Moore, Comt. 2nd Regt. 1st B. 5th Division Ohio Militia, reads as follows:

DECEMBER 26th, 1814.

DEAR SIR: In conformity to a call of Genl. McArthur commandant of the Eighth Military District, the commander-in-chief of the militia of this State having called for one entire company from the fifth Division, the Major Genl. having called on this Brigade for one captain, together with his non-commissioned officers and musicians, and twenty-eight men, to be in readiness to march at a minute's warning—you are therefore requested, to have detailed by draft or otherwise, one captain, one drummer, one fifer, two sergeants, two corporals and eleven privates, to be held in readiness to march at the shortest notice; it is expected this order will be put into execution with the least possible delay, and when the men may be ordered to rendezvous you will report to me the captain's name, who may be ordered out.

Yours respectfully,

JOSEPH LAYTON, *Brigr. Genl.,*  
*Of the 1st Brigade 5th Div., Ohio Militia.*

COL. JOHN DOUGHERTY,

N. B. Sir, it appears from the rank rolls, that you have two of the oldest captains in the Brigade who have not served a tour of duty, and lest you should be difficulted suspecting the dates of their commissions I give them to you, John N. Simon, June 2nd, 1811, and John M. Cord, Dec. . . ., 181... J. L.

A second Brigade order of still later date is addressed to Col. John Daugherty, Champaign County, near Springfield, Ohio.

JULY 12th, 1816.

COL. DAUGHTRY:

Sir you are hereby required to peraid at the town of Urbana on the 29th and 30th days of August next with all the commissioned officers and regimental staff officers under your command for the purpose of being trained as the law directs where you will meet the officers of the Third Regiment.

W.M. BUCKLES, *Col.*

*Comd. of the first Brigade, 1st Division,*  
*Ohio Militia.*

The foregoing expresses, communications, and brigade orders have dealt for the most part with military maneuvers; another document in which Col. Daugherty's name appears is of a different type. The following document is a receipt for special bail of Simon Kenton, bail being furnished by John Daugherty and Robert Renick. So far, I have been unable to locate the incident involved in this transaction.

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Received of John Daugherty and Robert Renick special bail for Simon Kenton in a case where Samuel Need and Abraham Need assignees of John Need who was assignee of Abraham Stipp are plaintiffs and said Simon Kenton is defendant in the court of common pleas for Champaign County the body of said defendant who has this day been surrendered by said special bail before Samuel Hill, Esquire, one of the associate judges of our said court of common pleas in persuance of the statuo in such case made and proceeded.

5th Sept. 1823.

F. AMBROSE, *Shff.*  
*of Champaign County.*

Receipt for the body of  
Simon Kenton  
from Shff. Champaign.

While the preceding communication may not be of any direct historical value, still they at least give us side lights upon the life of Col. John Daugherty, a very worthy man about whom but little is recorded, and, again recall the name of Simon Kenton.



## AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SHAKERS.

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MONDAY, *August 27, 1810*.—This day occurred, in the county of Warren, now Union Village, near Lebanon, in the State of Ohio, one of the most extraordinary instances of unconstitutional proceedings, and the most formidable appearance of infringement on the rights of conscience, that ever was witnessed in this country.

A body of five hundred armed men, equipped in uniform, and in military order, with their officers, appeared on the ground before the meeting-house, and, by a committee of about twelve men, appointed for the purpose, demanded of us that we should renounce our faith and practice, our public preaching and mode of worship, or quit the country.

This very extraordinary attempt first began to be agitated principally through the instrumentality of a certain John Davis, John and Robert Wilson, and John Bedle, who had apostatized from the faith, and became bold in wickedness and false accusations against the Believers; whereby those who had long waited for false witness to accuse the Believers of something criminal, were at length furnished with sufficient matter (as they said) to answer their purpose.

Accordingly, about the first of June, a piece appeared in the public papers, signed by Col. James Smith, stating as matters of fact, what he had been informed by the aforesaid apostates—viz: that the education of children among the Shakers is chiefly a pretence—that they whip their underlings severely, and also their children—that they count it no sin to have carnal knowledge of their own women—that all surplus money and property is given up to Elder David—that he keeps the whole treasury of the Society in his own hands; and that he, like the Pope, exercises unlimited authority over all under his control: and that he, with his council, live sumptuously on the labors of others; with many things more of a like nature; with remarks made to exasperate the public with the hottest indignation against

the Society, as being a poisonous nest, and enemies to the cause of American liberty.

But what seemed to be intended as the weightiest charges in this publication, were certain things therein alleged against James Smith, Jun., who was among the Believers, and for which there was some plausible pretence. James's wife, Polly, having left him on account of his faith, and he refusing to give up his children to her, furnished the old man with matter for many heavy charges of oppression and cruelty.

This piece was publicly answered, in a spirited manner, by Richard McNemar, the falsity of it exposed, and the author cited to prove what he had alleged, or bear the character of a slanderer. Notwithstanding, as many wished to receive accusations upon any ground whatever, the answer was little regarded by such; nor did it appear that Smith, or any of his associates, had any intention of prosecuting the matter in any lawful manner.

About the middle of July, we were secretly informed that a subscription paper was handing about, for the purpose of raising a mob against us, and that John Davis and the two Wilsons were active in the business. But they, being publicly taxed with it, denied that there was any such thing in agitation; and so it remained in the dark until August 23d, when there was a small hint dropped to some of the Believers at meeting, that Col. Smith, with a number of men from Kentucky, were over, and engaged in collecting others, to assist in taking off his grand-children.

Next day, being Friday, we heard from credible authority that five hundred men were to assemble the next Monday morning at Capt. Kilbreath's, about three miles off, and intended to come as a mob, and take off J. Smith's children, and other acts of outrage. The next day, the news became still more flagrant; and in the afternoon we were informed by Wade Loofbourrow, a young man from Butler county, near Hamilton, that he had seen the written instrument which the designing party had signed, but did not read it; that it was in the hands of Major J. Potter, at Hamilton Court, the day before; that the mob was a common subject of conversation on that occasion; that he heard Major Potter say that five hundred were subscribed; also, that Rev. Matthew G. Wallace was forward and active in the business;

that Major Potter would be second in command; that the Springfield Light-Horse would be on the ground, and many more of the baser sort from Springfield, the Big Hill, from around Hamilton, and from the vicinity northwest of us; that we might expect the party to appear on Monday, without doubt; and that he came on purpose to inform us of the plot, and wished to tarry, and see the result.

The same evening, news came in from every quarter of their preparations, and threats of abuse — that they meant to tar and feather R. McNemar, drive the old Shakers out of the country, and restore the rest back to their former faith and manner of living.

The next day, (Sabbath, August 26,) some of the party came to our meeting, particularly Capt. Robinson, who avowed the fact that they would be on the ground the next day, for the purpose of violence; but what, he did not fully specify. The State's Attorney, J. Collet, and the High Sheriff of the county, T. M'Cray, both of Lebanon, finding out their place of rendezvous, went for the purpose of giving them a lecture on the unlawfulness of their intentions, which we understood they delivered. The matter had now become generally known; and a number of sensible, influential men, being at our meeting, determined to return the next day, and see the event. Among these, were Dr. Budd and Dr. Bladgley, from New Jersey; Col. Stanley, from Cincinnati; and D. Corneal, a noted young man from Kentucky.

Monday morning, the Believers went about their ordinary business, and about eight o'clock the people began to collect from different quarters as spectators to the scene which they expected shortly to commence. The First Circuit Judge of the State, F. Dunlavy, was early on the ground, intending, if anything unlawful should be attempted, to countermand the proceeding. News came from every quarter that the troops were assembled at Kilbreath's, and would certainly appear. Dr. Bladgley (with some company) concluded to ride out and meet them, which he accordingly did; and about twelve o'clock returned, and informed us that they were mounted and moving on, and would be on the spot in less than an hour. Accordingly, about one o'clock, the troops appeared, entered in by the Dayton road from the North, and

marched in order till the front came within a few rods of the meeting-house, and called a halt. A number of officers were in uniform, and the troops armed, and generally equipped in regimental order. The whole body of people now collected on the ground consisted of about fifteen hundred — some supposed upwards of two thousand. Besides the five hundred troops in military order, many scattering ones, who came with the multitude, were also armed, but undisciplined persons; old gray-headed men, boys and others, who exhibited a very mean and mob-like appearance. Some of the undisciplined multitude were armed with guns — some with poles, or sticks, on which were fixed bayonets; and others with staves, and hatchets, and knives, and clubs. The exhibition presented a scene of horror, the intention of which was covered with duplicity. It is very probable, that, through the influence of those peace-designing men before mentioned, the mob-party had agreed upon the expedient of choosing a committee to state to us proposals in the name of the party, and to receive and return our answers. After a few minutes' halt at the meeting-house, the committee came forward and faced the yard before the dwelling-house of the old Believers. They requested three of the original men, (meaning of the old Shakers,) viz.: John Meacham, Benjamin S. Youngs, and Issachar Bates, to come forward, in order to confer with them on the occasion of the people's assembling, observing that a committee was chosen for that purpose, consisting of twelve men then present, among whom was one chief speaker. They were told that two of the men they called for were not here; only one of them, viz.: Benjamin Youngs, was present. Then they said two others (in place of those absent) would answer. Several respectable characters stood present in the yard before them, and we concluded to take with us two or three of those who were not of our society, viz.: Judge Dunlavy, Gen. W. Schenck, and J. Corwin, Esq., allowing that six, at least, would not be too many to be present with their committee, whom they said consisted of twelve in number. This we proposed, but they objected, allowing none to be present but those of the Society, and of those, only three. Judge Dunlavy asked, Have you any objections to by-standers? (alluding to himself and those with him.) They answered, Yes. As

they had devised for us to meet with them in the woods, we proposed to meet in a room in the house; but to this they objected, and insisted upon going into the woods. Unreasonable as their request was, that only three of us should meet with them in the woods, and that no one should be present in the conference proposed, who was not of the Society, and might serve as a witness for us to the proceedings, yet we consented, as no alternative was granted.

Three of the Society, viz.: Benjamin S. Youngs, Peter Pease, and Matthew Houston, withdrew with the committee into a piece of woods beyond the garden, about sixty rods south of the dwelling-house, and half a mile south of the meeting-house.

The leading characters of the committee, were Matthew G. Wallace, a noted Presbyterian preacher, chief speaker; Doctor Squire Little, a New-Light; Capt. John Clark, and John Fisher. The names of the rest we did not ascertain. Wallace began in the name of the people to state their grievances, observing that our principles and practice had caused great disturbances in the minds of the people, and led to the extinction of civil and religious society, which they are determined to uphold; that our system was a pecuniary system, and led mankind into bondage and oppression; and that the people were determined to bear it no longer — and they endeavored to insinuate, that they (the committee) were in a capacity to prevent evil being done, and perhaps prevent much blood being shed, as the people were fully resolved on a redress, provided we would comply with the terms they had to propose, as the voice of the people. After speaking in this manner for some time, they stated the following conditions as the only terms on which the people would be satisfied, and prevented from forcing a compliance by violent measures, viz:

I. That we should deliver up the children of James Watts, deceased, to their grandfather; alleging that the said James, at his decease, gave his children to his father — and asked us if we did not see the propriety.

We answered — we had not seen the propriety hitherto, as we supposed the mother, under whose care the children now were, had the greatest right to them; and asked them if it was recorded, that the said James gave his children to their grandfather? They

answered, that it was not. We told them that we could not give up that which was not in our possession. The children were with their mother, and under her care, and we exercised no authority over them. We were sure that the mother and children might be seen by any two or three civil men; and if the parent was willing, and the children wished to go, it was not our wish to have them retained; nor if any demanded them, and chose to force them away, would any violence be used to prevent them.

2. That old William Bedle be permitted to see his grandchild, a son of Elijah Davis, alleging that the said child came away, (from his father,) and was forcibly brought back contrary to his inclination. To this we also replied, that the child was under the care of his own parents; that we had not any control over him — that we did not usurp the parents' right over their children, but we doubted not that the child might be seen, etc., etc., an answer similar to the above.

3. That we should give up the children of James Smith observing, that we were doubtless well acquainted with the circumstances relative to these children. To this, we also answered, that the children were under the care of their father; that they were now in the hands of authority, and that a suit had commenced in court respecting them. This, therefore, they concluded to drop for the present.

4. The chief speaker here observed, that the next thing might probably seem hard to us, and then proceeded to state the weightiest proposition, as the sense of the mob party, (whom he still termed the people,) viz: that we cease publicly to inculcate our principles, and that we cease our practice; that we cease to dance on the Sabbath-days and on the week-days, observing that such practices were reverse from the gospel; or depart out of the country by the first Monday in December next. The amount of which proposition was, that we should renounce our faith and practice, our manner of living, preaching, and mode of worship; or depart out of the country.

These were the terms proposed by the mob's committee in the name of the people. If we accede to the terms, well; and if not, the people, as they called them, were determined to enforce them by violence. We now requested them to state their pro-

posals in writing; but Wallace observed, that what had been proposed was short, and could be easily remembered without writing. Benjamin replied, as the proposals were short, they might be the more readily committed to writing; but they pointedly refused.

It was two o'clock, and one hour was agreed upon to receive a positive answer. The committee arose, and we returned home. All the elder brethren and sisters present, were assembled together in an upper room of the house. We invited in Judge Dunlavy, Squire Corwin, and General Schenck, all of this country. We stated in their presence the proposals and demands of the committee, and the answer we expected to return; observing, also, wherein we felt their requirements, &c., in the first instance, unreasonable and unjust, particularly in not allowing any persons present at the conference who might serve as witnesses against the unlawfulness or injustice of their demands; and also, of the unreasonableness of grandfathers demanding to be given up to them their grand-children who were among us under the care of their own parents. These judicious men, though they said nothing on the present occasion, appeared to be much affected, and feelingly interested for the cause of justice. After we arose, Judge Dunlavy and General Schenck went out, and found Dr. Little, one of the committee, in the yard before the house, and talked to him in an affecting manner on the illegality and consequences of this day's concourse of people.

At the expiration of the time appointed, Benjamin informed Dr. Little that we were now ready to meet them. Accordingly, we again met the committee at the same place in the woods, before-mentioned, and delivered the following answer, viz:—

1. Respecting the children demanded to be given up, we observed, that we had already stated what we had to say on that subject; adding, that all adults among us were free, and that it was contrary to our principles and our practice to oppress any, or hold them in bondage.

2. Respecting our faith which we held in the gospel, we esteemed it dearer than our lives, and therefore meant to maintain it, whatever we might suffer as the consequence. And as to our leaving the country, we were on our own possessions which we had purchased with money obtained by our own honest in-

dustry. It was our endeavor not to owe any man anything; we had not a cent of any man's money; we enjoyed our own peaceable possessions in a free country, and were entitled to those liberties (including the liberty of our consciences) which the laws of our country granted us. This was the answer.

In the course of the first sitting of the committee, we had observed to them, that things were misrepresented and wrongly reported of us; that there was no evidence of the existence of those things of which we were accused, and that they were only reported by prejudiced persons; that there was no need of all this concourse of people; if we had done wrong in any matter, we were willing that any judicious persons should make examination, and the laws of our country made ample provisions for the redress of grievances. To which they replied by the chief speaker, that the means prescribed for redress would require too lengthy a process, and the people would not wait the issue of such measures, adding that they had evidence sufficient.

It is here worthy of notice, that, although the committee had solemnly agreed not to admit or suffer any of the party near them while they conferred with us, yet before we closed with them, they had a number of false witnesses and accusers standing by, with charges against us, particularly John Davis, the apostate before-mentioned, who falsely, and in the most malicious spirit, brought accusations against the Believers; others, also, were standing round, in readiness to take their turns in accusation. In this state of things, we asked the committee again and again if they had understood us. And they again and again answered in the affirmative; and though we had pointedly delivered our answers, still they labored hard to urge upon us the propriety of our compliance to their demands; for how, said Wallace, could we withstand a thousand men? But not acceding to their terms, we left them, and it appeared very doubtful what would be the event.

About the meeting-house, the school-house, the children's family, and the first family of young Believers, there was a vast and promiscuous concourse of armed men and spectators, some disputing, some inquiring, others railing out against, and endeavoring to scatter falsehood, and urging the propriety of ban-

ishing us out of the country by violence. Women of the baser sort, who were in fellowship with the riot, had placed themselves within sight of the buildings, on the edge of the woods, waiting to see the destruction of the Shakers; others, of the same cast, were taking an active part in urging on parties of the mob to take away, by force, children of their connections, who believed, and such like acts of violence. Some men of talents and good principles, were engaged in contesting those violent measures agitated by the mob party, urging our right of citizenship from our peaceable deportment, and the unconstitutionality of infringing upon our right, which had never been forfeited by any misconduct.

About three o'clock, a public speaker of the party, standing in the street before the meeting-house door, proclaimed liberty, that all who had any charges against the Shakers might come forward and enter them. A number of charges were produced; but no charge, however, was regularly entered and taken up, except a charge of murder against Amos Valentine, upon the deposition of John and Robert Wilson, two of the before-mentioned apostates, who deposed, that when they lived among the Shakers, the said Amos had a boy that had fits — that he whipped said boy unmercifully; also, that the said boy was whipped by Daniel Moseley, and that the said Amos and Daniel both wished that he was dead; that the boy for some time past had been missing, and that the said deponents believed that the said boy was murdered, and put out of the way. A habeas corpus was immediately served on Amos, and he put under guard, until the said boy should be produced. The boy was immediately sent for, being at Moses Easton's, about two miles off. About this period of transactions, the committee were sitting the second time, with the three brethren before mentioned. Judge Dunlavy, who understood the proceedings of the committees before, followed them to the edge of the woods, and there sat down upon a log, about five rods distant from where the committee were sitting, and there waited to see the issue. Immediately after the brethren left the committee, he mounted his horse in the midst of the assembly, and, with a loud voice calling attention, he delivered a solemn injunction, that no one violate the laws of Ohio, and re-

quired all civil officers present to take cognizance of the conduct of any who should violate them. Soon after this, the aforesaid boy arrived, very corpulent and hearty. This was about four o'clock. Dunlavy understanding the case, gave public information of the innocence of the party accused, ordered the prisoner to be released, and the people to disperse, as nothing remained as any matter of investigation. Nevertheless, Capt. Kilbreath refused to comply with Dunlavy's order to release the prisoner, alleging that he was as high in office as the judge. Upon which, Dunlavy ordered him to be apprehended, and put in prison; but Kilbreath being armed with a sword and pistol, and refusing to be taken, they left it to be determined some other way which of them should be greatest. The prisoner, however, was released; but some of the party treated the judge with great contempt, and uttered the most bitter invectives against him for his interference. At this stage of the proceedings, the committee having returned and mingled among the multitude, and Dunlavy having given his orders, the mob-party were somewhat irritated, and thrown into confusion. But the word of command being given, and the party mounted, they moved down the street in a violent career, amid clouds of dust, and halted in a vast crowd, facing the dwelling-house of the Elders; and, after a little pause, Major Robinson, with a loud voice, demanded of those in the house whether we would comply with the proposals of the committee, Yea, or Nay. This was repeated a number of times, crying aloud, Give us an answer. Yea, or Nay! but no one answered a word. Then all the people in the house, men and women, old and young, were commanded to come out of the house, and to place themselves in a circle on the green before them. But none offered to move.

Then Robinson continued his harangue to this effect; that we should comply immediately with the proposals of the committee, and accede to remove out of the country by the first of December next, or suffer the consequences; and then cried, Is not this the voice of the people? which was instantly answered by the mob with uplifted hands, and a general loud and hideous yell, in the most exasperated manner. But as none appeared or answered, they ordered the gates to be thrown open, which, after

some considerable hesitation, some of the concourse ventured to perform. The doors of the house were now instantly shut and fastened, as hitherto they had been left open. After the gates were thrown open, the house was immediately surrounded by a promiscuous multitude of armed men and spectators, but the main body of the corps remained on their horses in the street. After some consultation in the mob-party, they proposed a committee from among them, whom they wished to enter and search every apartment of the house, to see whether there were not some who were held in bondage, and such other like instances of cruelty and injustice as were reported. The committee proposed came forward, consisting of Major William Robinson, Capt. John Robinson, Capt. John Clark, and Capt. Cornelius Thomas, and one or two more. They entered upon conditions of behaving civilly, and began their search and examinations with the young sisters, and asked them, one by one, if they wished to leave the Shakers.

Betsey Seward replied, that she was satisfied with the people, and her present place of abode—that she liked it better than among her natural relations; because they treated her more kindly than ever her natural relations did, and that she did not wish to see any of them any more, while they remained so wicked. The committee then said, Let her stay. Prudence Morrell being interrogated, replied, that all the world would be no inducement to her to go away; that she had much rather lay her head down upon the floor, and have it chopped off, than she should be taken from her present abode; and so did Jenny McNemar, and all the rest—each declaring that they were free to go away, if they chose, at any time, and that nothing bound them but their faith and love. All whom they interrogated, whether brethren or sisters, made similar replies.

The committee having searched every apartment of the house, declared themselves satisfied. Capt. Thomas, (who was a man of considerable feeling,) in particular, said he saw a decent house, and decent people in it. They then drank generously of cold coffee, went out, and reported—Well satisfied. After this, they went back again to their former ground at the meeting-house, and the same committee pro-

ceeded to examine the house and family of the young Believers. All who were interrogated, made firm replies, that they were free, and might go away whenever they chose, but would not: some said they had rather die, than abandon their faith, or forsake the people of God. By this time the committee were under considerable mortification, and their zeal began to abate, having been disappointed in all their researches, and some persuasions had to be used to get them into the schoolhouse. Matthew being present at their examinations, wished them to go, especially, as they had it reported that we would not suffer our children and youth to read the scriptures. When they went into the school, they found Testaments plenty. Matthew observed, they might see at least one lie had been told them. They looked at the children's writings, which they acknowledged far surpassed their expectations. Matthew then wished them to ask the children questions, whether they had enough to eat, etc., observing, that he had children among them, and had long been absent, and knew not at present how it might be with them. When they asked, First—have you enough to eat? they answered, Yea! yea! yea! as much as we want, ran all through the school. Second—are you whipped more than you deserve? They answered, Nay! nay! nay! all through; and many said, Not whipped at all. Third—do you want to go from these people? If you do, continued they, fear not, we will protect you. Nay! nay! nay! ran all through the school. They were then wished to hear the children read, but they would not, declaring themselves fully satisfied. Then they were requested to go to John Wood's; perhaps they might find that enslaved woman, of whom they had spoken, and about whom the party were so much agitated, (for it was reported that some certain woman was enslaved by the Shakers; those in search had not yet found her, for another select number of the party had searched the meeting-house for her a little while before, and the children's order at John Wood's had also been searched and examined.) But the committee would not go any further, declaring themselves, again and again, fully satisfied; and so they departed.

No ground of accusation being found or reported to the party, and the generality being wearied and perplexed with the

same, and under a mortifying disappointment, were dismissed; the last of them disappeared as the darkness of night began to creep over the horizon, without leaving behind them any visible marks of cruelty.

No disturbance or confusion appeared among the Believers through the whole occasion. The generality kept busy at their usual employments—took dinner in their usual manner, and entertained such as they could with convenience. They answered those mildly who spoke to them, whether peaceably, or in a taunt. Such as wished to enter the rooms from the noise and clamor, did so, and spent their time in conversation.

Perhaps a scene entirely like this, has not transpired since the rights of conscience have been esteemed sacred by man. That no evil or cruelty was transacted after such formidable preparations of design, can be assigned to no other cause than the interposing hand of Divine Providence—that invisible Power of God which turneth the hearts of men whithersoever He will, and saith unto the mighty waters, hitherto shalt thou come, and no further.

N. B. The foregoing transactions are stated according to the best recollection, and information of the circumstances, immediately after the event transpired. It is not to be understood, that every individual of this vast body were persons of malicious designs. Some even of those under arms, appeared not to know in reality for what purpose they were come together, only as they had been ordered out by their officers. There were some, also, who had been influenced to evil designs by the malicious and evil reports in circulation, who, when they received true information, and were induced to consider the impropriety of such illegal conduct, they manifested no disposition to do any injury. Some of this description left the mob, and returned back, after Doctor Bladgley went to know their intentions. There were numbers, also, who were men of good information and just principles, some of whose names have been mentioned, whose only endeavors were to inculcate reason into the minds of as many as were accessible, and to maintain a spirit of peace and freedom.

BENJAMIN SETH YOUNGS.

*Miami County, State of Ohio, August 31, 1810.*

**LAYING CORNER STONE  
OF  
THE SOCIETY'S BUILDING.**

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On the afternoon of September 12, 1912, the Trustees and officers of the Society laid the Corner Stone of the building of the Society, located on the Campus of the Ohio State University.

The ground was first broken for the excavation on June 25th. The weather on the day of the corner stone laying was ideal and a goodly audience of the friends of the Society, including many professors of the University, assembled to witness the ceremonies. There were present, Prof. J. N. Bradford, the architect, and Messrs. L. V., W. B., and George Dawson of the Dawson Construction Company, the contractors. The following Trustees of the Society were in attendance: Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Col. John W. Harper, Prof. B. F. Prince, Dr. H. A. Thompson, Treasurer E. F. Wood, Curator W. C. Mills and Secretary E. O. Randall. Mr. Randall acted as chairman of the occasion, the exercises of which were as follows:

INVOCATION.

By Rev. H. A. THOMPSON.

Oh, King of kings and Lord of lords, we come reverently into Thy presence this afternoon to implore Thy blessing upon us and Thy presence with us in the exercise of this hour. We confess our sins before thee, but at the same time we would remember that as a father pitith his children so the Lord pitith those who fear him. We thank thee for thy loving kindness which has followed each one of us all along the journey of life.

So also we thank thee for the great nation which thou hast established on this western hemisphere. We rejoice in the discovery of this land and especially in its settlement, many years

ago, by God-fearing men and women who left the old world, to seek a new home where they could have freedom to worship God. On reaching this continent, before they began to build homes for themselves, they first of all on bended knees, dedicated this land to God—to civil and religious liberty. Here they sought to found a nation that should become a home for the oppressed of all lands; where men should have opportunity to develop their God given powers under such benign influences as should make them efficient servants of thine. We believe thou art the builder and preserver of nations; "The powers that be are ordained of God." Thou dost build up and preserve as seemeth good in thy sight; and thou dost pull down and when men persist in going contrary to thy teachings as is shown in the history of the nations of antiquity which kept not thy Commandments and so have been destroyed. They learned as all nations sooner or later will learn that "righteousness exalteth a nation while sin is a reproach to any people."

We confess with sorrow that we have not always lived up to this high ideal of our forefathers, nor kept thy teachings as revealed in thy holy word. At times we have oppressed the poor; we have not dealt justly with the hireling; we have broken thy Sabbath; we have given ourselves to the getting of unjust gains, forgetting for the time that for all these thy God would bring us unto judgment. Even when thou didn't chastise us, thou didn't turn away in anger. In the dark hours of Revolution when at times men's hearts were almost ready to fail them, thy eye was there upon us in mercy and we were kept from destruction. During the late Civil War when our very existence at times seemed to hang in the balance, thou didn't chastise us in mercy, and if the life of the Nation was preserved, in order as we believe, that thy American people might become a beacon light to the struggling nations of the earth; that here God would save us a people who would deal justly with their fellow men.

So also we desire to thank thee for this goodly commonwealth of Ohio under whose auspices and by whose authority we are assembled here, on the 12th day of September, 1912; we bless thee for our public schools and colleges and all our higher

institutions of learning; for the church and its living ministry helping to point men to the highest spiritual life; for our courts of justice and all the legal means we have for encouragement of virtue and the discouragement of vice; for the law-making and law executing powers of the land insofar as these instruments are trying to follow the Master's ideals; for the force which leads us away from the grosser things of life, keeps before us the highest ideals of manhood and womanhood and helps us to imitate them for the great and good men who have been called from our midst to serve the nation in various fields of usefulness, a majority of whom we believe have done honor to the Commonwealth of Ohio.

And now we are about to lay the corner stone of a building which is to be the home for years to come of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. We are grateful that more than a quarter of a century ago thou didst put it into the heads and hearts of a number of patriotic citizens to organize this Society, whose main purpose was to promote a better knowledge of the history and resources of the State of Ohio. In faith and hope they labored and today they are beginning to see the realization of their hopes; we are grateful for the appropriations of money on the part of the Governor and the Legislature of the State, which provides for the construction of this building. When citizens of the State shall come to know more definitely of the work they have done, we believe they will all do them honor. We ask the blessing of God upon the workmen who shall be immediately concerned in the construction of the building, that not a single life shall be lost in its erection. May these men have continually in mind the thought that they are not simply earning wages to supply their daily wants, but are also doing that which we hope shall honor God and bless the people of this goodly commonwealth.

And when this building is completed, as we hope it may be, honestly and faithfully and without the loss of a single life, in the not distant future, then into its spacious quarters shall be gathered a large number of the archaeological remains of our own and other states, on which tables of stone, as did Moses of old, we shall read the record which God has thus made of him-

self and ascertain the laws in accordance with which God constructed this physical universe. On its library shelves shall be placed we hope thousands of volumes of books and manuscripts in which skilled men have written of the people of our own and other states, indeed of all nations, showing in unmistakable terms how God has led the nations of the earth, and how men in the olden times came to Jerusalem to see God's wonderful work so in the years to come may not scholars and students, not only from our own and other states, but indeed from the nations afar off, gather here at this Mecca to read "God almighty's thoughts after him." Thus life shall be made brighter, men be made better because of this building and the things it represents, God be better known and loved by the children of men.

Bless this Society under whose auspices we are met; bless the great Commonwealth of Ohio, whose people we here represent today; bless the American Nation which thus far has had a wonderful history and which we believe God will preserve if we are deserving for greater good in the world and keep us ever obedient to thy righteous Law, until time shall be no more. Amen.

MR RANDALL: We are assembled here to-day to observe an occasion of supreme satisfaction and great rejoicing to the members of our Society.

During the year 1875 a State Archaeological Society was formed at the home of General Roeliff Brinkerhoff, Mansfield, Ohio. The Society, through the efforts of General Brinkerhoff, who was made president, received, from the Legislature, an appropriation of \$2,500, to be expended in making an Ohio archaeological exhibit at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Prof. John T. Short of the Ohio State University, was made Secretary of the Society, and it flourished under his secretaryship until his death, November 11, 1883, when the Society became practically inoperative.

Governor Hoadly during his administration suggested a revival of the Society, and a meeting for that purpose was called to convene at the office of the Secretary of State, on February 12, 1885. On that date a number of prominent gentlemen, including scholars and professors from various parts of the State,

responded to this call and at this meeting, it was decided to extend to all persons in the State, interested in the formation of such a society, an invitation to meet on March 12 (1885) at Columbus. In response to the circular sent out, some sixty gentlemen representing all sections of the State, embracing the historical and archaeological interests of Ohio, convened on the day specified, in the Library Room of the State Capitol. This convention continued in session two days and perfected an organization thereafter to be known as The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.



Secretary Randall making the introductory remarks.

logical and Historical Society, which was incorporated March 13, 1885. Hon Allen G. Thurman was elected president and Mr. A. A. Graham, secretary. The articles of incorporation succinctly set forth the purposes and aims of the Society. The following have served as presidents of the Society since its organization: Allen G. Thurman, Francis C. Sessions, Rutherford B. Hayes, Roeliff Brinkerhoff and G. Frederick Wright.

The Society made a small beginning by collecting books for a library and establishing an archaeological museum, all of which

was housed in the State Capitol. For twenty-seven years the Society has faithfully pursued the lines of study and investigation for which it was organized, and has held regular annual meetings at Columbus. In that time it has accumulated a valuable collection of relics and antiquities, consisting of over 200,000 specimens, mostly archaeological in character, but embracing also many papers and articles of historical value. The collection has been catalogued and arranged in cases in the Museum Room of the Society, Page Hall. The Library of the Society, which numbers some 10,000 volumes of great value, occupies a library room in the same building.

In 1892, two bills were introduced in the Legislature, one to merge this Society with the State Library, the other simply to unite the Library of the Society with the State Library. The larger bill failed, but the lesser bill was enacted, and several hundred books which were owned by the Society were merged with the State Library, and most of them are there now; but the Society struggled on and increased in membership, and in 1894, the year after the World's Columbian Exposition, at which an exhibit was made, the Ohio State University generously gave us quarters on their grounds, and our collection and what little library we had found quarters in Orton Hall, and there remained until May, 1902, when the property and quarters of the Society were transferred to Page Hall, where splendid rooms were accorded us by the further generosity and hospitality of the Ohio State University. It is therefore very fitting, my good friends, that this building is erected on the grounds of the University, which has all these years been our patron and friend.

Many times during these long years we have appealed to the legislature for an appropriation for a building of our own. Many schemes have been proposed, several bills introduced, but none of them became effective until two years ago the Legislature of 1911, put into the appropriation bill the sum of \$100,000, or rather \$50,000 in each bill for 1911 and 1912, respectively, for the erection of a building. The Trustees of the Ohio State University again generously came to our aid and offered us a site upon their ground, to our mind the best, certainly no better could we have, for the position of this beautiful building just at

the entrance of the Campus and facing the High street thoroughfare. The legislature passed those two bills and the hopes of these officers who have labored for twenty years now see the consummation of our labors.

And now I have the pleasure of introducing our honored and devoted President, Professor G. Frederick Wright.

ADDRESS OF PROF. G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

Ohio has been behind many of her sister states in appreciating her archaeological and historical treasures. Confessedly, she is pre-eminent over all in the wealth of her prehistoric remains, while her history records a greater variety of thrilling episodes than that of almost any other commonwealth. Early in the last century her mounds and earthworks were sporadically explored by Squier and Davis to obtain relics of her prehistoric peoples. The results of this exploration by these two eminent citizens of the State are embodied in the noble volume which constitutes the first monograph published by the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. But it remained for an appreciative archaeologist of the old world to set a just estimate upon the relics collected at that time. Mr. Blackmore of Salisbury, England, gave practical demonstration of this appreciation by purchasing the entire collection and erecting for it a special building in his native town, whither all American students have to make a pilgrimage if they would study the first fruits of archaeological exploration in Ohio.

At a later date the authorities of the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, of the National Museum, at Washington, and of the Field Museum at Chicago, awoke to the importance of our buried treasures and spent large sums in excavating for them. The remarkable discoveries made by these outside parties are duly displayed in the aforesaid museums, and serve greatly to enhance their attractiveness.

But, fortunately, these outside explorers did not find all of our treasures. Under the liberal patronage of the state legislature our accomplished Curator, Professor W. C. Mills, has been so successful in gleaning the field that even now our collection of implements and ornaments from the mounds and earthworks of the State exceeds in interest and value that of any of the other

collections, and has taken the first prize at all the expositions where it has been partially displayed.

We cannot, however, say as much for the historical collections. More than half a century ago, Wisconsin was so fortunate as to engage for the custodian of its library a widely known and highly accomplished citizen of Ohio, who signalized his appointment by scouring the State in search of original manuscripts bearing upon our early history. So successful was he that the Wisconsin Library has a larger collection of such documents than we can ever hope to obtain. The redeeming feature in the case is that the curators of the library at Madison are over generous in giving the students of our history access to their treasures, and in permitting us to print them for the benefit of our citizens and the world. But Wisconsin did not get all. We have already accumulated a large quantity of original documents which were overlooked by the enterprising Wisconsin collector.

Up to this point, one of our greatest lacks has been an appropriate building in which we could safely preserve and display our inestimable documents and relics. Many private collections are only awaiting the erection of such a building to be added to our already great store of valuable objects. We cannot be too thankful for the appreciation of the work of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society which has been shown in the generous appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000) for the erection of the noble building whose corner stone we are now proceeding to lay. Hither may all the teeming population of our State come from time to time to be reminded of the privations and heroism in which the foundations of our Commonwealth were laid, and of the contrast between the privileges of the present time and those of the dim prehistoric ages of which we have such abundant evidence in the mounds and earthworks whose relics enrich our museum. Let us pray and hope that no accident may befall those who engage in the erection of these walls, and that no disreputable work may enter into its construction partially to defeat the generous aim of the state authorities in providing the means for its erection.

MR. RANDALL: It is a fact that the legislature passed the appropriation of \$100,000 for this building, but that bill had to

pass through the Governor's office for he holds the veto power, and we are equally indebted, therefore, to good Governor Judson Harmon, who has long been a member of our Society and taken a deep and active interest in its proceedings. We had a very delightful and successful voyage through the Governor's office. Governor Harmon is not able to be present in person, but we are greatly favored in having with us his good Secretary, Honorable George W. Long, who will speak for the Executive Office.

ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE W. LONG.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Governor's modest part in signing the bill which makes provision for this magnificent building, I am sure will bring full satisfaction and compensation to him for what he has missed in the inspiration of the present hour, when the milestone marks the beginning of the above ground growth of this building.

His interest in the project, his interest as a citizen of the state, must be his satisfaction and answer for him that which he loses by his enforced absence.

I count myself fortunate in being able to enter with you, and those of the officers of this Society, for whose long and patient work we owe what will soon be a permanent home for this splendid association and its work as well as the legislature to whose good sense and judgment and generosity we owe the provision which now gives us a home for the Archaeological and Historical Society and enables it to carry its work forward with that which it absolutely and essentially needed and without which it could not well go forward. There is no one thing which enters more into civic life—into our civic life as a state, or a nation, so much as general information—the spread of knowledge, or knowing what was accomplished in the past; what were the deeds, what were the accomplishments and what were the forces? By all those things we learn that knowledge is essential to continue successful progress. Therefore, this building, the work of this Society, is a direct element of the strength of our state and indirectly of our nation. Therefore, it is well to acknowledge

that no effort, no money which the state could spend, can be more worthily spent than that which the legislature has appropriated for the purpose of this Society in this building.

An eminent French writer has said that time is blind but men are stupid. What suggested that idea was the fact that time is the ruthless destroyer and defacer of the marks which mankind leave upon the face of the earth, and that when left alone much that is of importance and of value becomes in the course of time destroyed and lost so that they should only lose that which was accomplished by those before them, and men are stupid in that they often blindly, even through sheer stupidity and carelessness, even through purposes which appeal only to self, destroy that which would be a source of information, of joy, of importance to succeeding generations. I am glad to say now that in this latter day, since the day when this eminent Frenchman wrote those words, we have awakened to the fact that we must not let the facts be effaced, we must not let its monuments be destroyed, we must not let the story of the people and their work be lost, not because it would be a matter of information, but for the teaching, for the benefit of the knowledge that may flow to us and to succeeding generations. This tells me how important has been the work of these gentlemen who have so steadfastly held to their purpose through all these years, and on behalf of the Executive Department I doff the Executive hat to these gentlemen who have labored and made possible that which shall be such an important element to the people of the State, to the youth and generation that shall come in the future.

MR. RANDALL: The Archaeological and Historical Society is deeply indebted to the firm, constant and generous friendship of the Ohio State University, and the fact that we are located upon this campus at the entrance to this splendid institution is evidence of the friendship and purpose and desire of the institution to further our interests and now Dr. W. O. Thompson, one of the Trustees of our Society and President of the University will address you.

## ADDRESS OF DR. W. O. THOMPSON.

Mr. Chairman, my election to a position in this Archaeological and Historical Society was accepted as a distinct honor. I, therefore, rejoice in the hour that is now here with all the other members of the Archaeological and Historical Society. For indeed this is an hour of genuine rejoicing. It gives the Society, as we hope, a permanent place in the history of the State.

I happen, in the fortune of life, to be here as the President of the University, and in that capacity I rejoice knowing that we are to have upon this campus, permanently, so dignified and honored a society as this one is. It is, therefore, with sincere pleasure that we anticipate the completion of a building which shall be in keeping with the dignity of the State and the dignity of the Society. I come here simply to express anew our most cordial welcome to the Archaeological and Historical Society and join in the congratulations of the hour to them upon this happy and auspicious day.

I am looking forward to the time when this very building itself will be a place to which distinguished men will come. I think Ohio in its early phases presents a great opportunity for scientific study and research, and I am glad the State of Ohio recognizing that fact has given this Society a permanent home upon this campus. Not many of the people of the University, or of the State or City, are aware of the fact that we have already had some of the most distinguished men of the world appear upon this campus looking for this Society. Sir Walter Ramsey of Scotland came to this place, and the only thing in Columbus he was at all interested in was the Archaeological and Historical Society. He made the journey at considerable expense, time and money for the satisfaction of seeing with his own eyes the result of the research work in this line as made in Ohio. Sir Walter Ramsey is only one of a number of others, and I am anticipating the time to come when scholars from all over the country will come to this particular building as the place where they expect to find the information for which scholars are always looking. I expect, therefore, this building itself will be a tribute to Ohio's judgment, to her character, to her own dignity and to the work

that shall be carried on in this building and outside of the building and that it will, in the years to come, add very greatly to the distinction of our commonwealth.

I congratulate the people of Ohio, I congratulate the University, I congratulate the State upon this happy hour and the prospect of this building.

MR. RANDALL: Prof. B. F. Prince of Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio, and one of our most loyal trustees will now speak.

ADDRESS OF PROF. B. F. PRINCE.

Mr. President: At many of the meetings held in this City we discussed the question of a location, a place, in which to put our collection. We thought for a long time it ought to be down in the City, but that seemed impossible. Next there was offered to us ground here upon the State University Campus, and we are pleased to know now that we accepted that proposition, and that we are here located so favorably on this ground.

I am sure that every member of the Directorship of this Association feels grateful to the State of Ohio and to the Ohio State University for this privilege of locating at this point. I am sure that as time passes there will be greater pleasure come to the trustees as they see what opportunities and privileges have been accorded to this Society. There are a great many things that helped to contribute to the growth and prosperity of this Society. Peoples of long ages past have laid up relics for us. They have scattered them all over the State of Ohio; put them in mounds where they are being found from time to time and are being transported to this place for the inspection of the people of today, and in the days to come. The State of Ohio, or what is now Ohio, has long been to my mind a battle field—a battle ground—a pleasant place, too, in which to live. People in her historic times have left their monuments. After them came the Indians into this Country. No matter what their origin they were here, and they have come down to us—their memory—in historic times. They struggled for this country. We read in history that the Algonquins and the Iroquois fought for this land until they made it a desert; for almost a hundred years no

wigwam dared to be raised upon its soil on account of danger of some enemy. A little later the Algonquin, as well as the Iroquois, returned to this country in small tribes and grew, but there was another enemy rising up against them, the English and the French particularly the English. For about twenty years they struggled for the occupation of this territory, and the English finally succeeded, but the Indian was determined to hold it, and really not until after the war of 1812 was this country held by the white men in security. Now all these people have laid up great things for us to learn. Historically we want to collect all the information we can and place them in this building where they shall be of interest and usefulness to the generations that are to come. I am sure that the trustees are all interested in this work, and that as the years go by and new trustees come, they will find it a pleasure to inspect what we have done and shall add more and more to the benefit and to the honor of this State. We are thankful for this afternoon; we are thankful that this hour has come when the foundation of a grand building is being laid and when the efforts that are to tell for the future in this society can be carried on with a greater degree of success than we have been able to do in the past. This I say again is a happy and auspicious day and we are glad for it.

MR. RANDALL: One of the principal accomplishments of the history of our Society has been the holding at various times throughout the State historical celebrations, and the first of those was held in Marietta in 1888, at the One Hundredth Anniversary of its settlement, at which many distinguished men of the nation took part and spoke. One of the gentlemen here today was an orator on that occasion. Mr. D. K. Watson will now address you.

ADDRESS OF HON. D. K. WATSON.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have lived long enough to know that a man never knows when he is going to get into trouble. Standing on this platform, together with other gentlemen here a few moments ago, my distinguished friend, Mr. Randall, stepped up to me and asked if I wouldn't say a few words. I said I didn't know what to talk about and he said just

give them a "straight flush." Not being familiar with that kind of vernacular, and not knowing what that meant, thinking he expected some unusual thing of me I stepped back and asked a friend what a straight flush was, and he said five cards of the same kind in a sequence. Now, you all know—I don't know any more about that than I did before, but it is so easy for a man to get into trouble.

I allow no man here or elsewhere to surpass me in my admiration of what is being accomplished here today. I believe most profoundly and thoroughly in the erection of this building. I hope it will be beautiful. I hope that it will be enduring, I hope it will stand the ages of time and that it will be one of the mighty monuments of Ohio and of this great University of which you, Dr. Thompson, are such an honored president.

A friend of mine some years ago returned from Egypt and brought me as a present a scarab. Now, you all know I suppose what a scarab is. Years and centuries and thousands of years ago the Egyptians saw in the claw of the beetle or the bug what he said was immortality and he said "I have been looking for this thing and here it is. Here is immortality or the representation of it." Not being able to preserve the bug itself he made it in imitation of stone and cement, and it became the emblem of immortality to the Egyptian who believed in that doctrine, and it became sacred, and so the scarab became known as the sacred bug. It was worn by the rich and powerful. The King and Queen adopted it as their insignia of office, and when they died it was the custom of the country to bury with them three of these scarabs, and for years people from Germany and France and other countries have been going over to the tombs of Egypt where those old Kings and Queens were buried thousands of years ago and taking them up and taking these scarabs away from them and bringing them home, and that is one I have, and it is 4,300 years old. On the flat side of it is this inscription "As long as I am King of Egypt, justice shall be done throughout the land." It is worth something, Mr. Randall to you, and it is worth something to me, to know on this bright and beautiful afternoon in the year 1912, that twenty-three centuries before Christ was

born, an Egyptian King was thinking of doing justice to his people throughout the land.

- We are trying to do that now in this country and some other countries and I hope we may succeed. I often think what it represents. I often think of the ages that have passed and I often think of the history it could write, if it could write at all, and I have learned more history from that little thing no longer than your finger nail, than from Macauley, Hume and Gibbon, not



Curator Mills placing the box in the corner stone.

that it said so much, but it said it in such a way and said it forty-three centuries ago.

I hope that if ever this building is destroyed, if ever the waves of age and time annihilate it, there will be left the contents of that box, so that men who stand here thousands of years from now will read in that history something that will be of importance to them.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, in a man doing something to-day that will benefit the man that lives tomorrow, and I believe in a man doing something this year that will be of some benefit to

the man that lives next year, and if you can do something now that will be of some assistance to a man who lives a thousand years from now that man's life has not been a failure.

MR. RANDALL: Ladies and gentlemen we come now to the last act of the program. Curator Mills will place the box in the corner stone and spread the first trowel of mortar.

Prof. W. C. Mills then stepped forward with the box containing the articles to be sealed in the cornerstone. The articles were: copy of the bills of the Seventy-Ninth General Assembly, containing the items of appropriation for the erection of the building; copies of the first and twentieth annual volumes of the proceedings of the Society; circular of the list of publications of the Society, Constitution and officers; printed pamphlet of the specifications of the building; proceedings of the meetings of the Building Committee; speech of President Wright, just delivered; copies of the Columbus papers of the day, September 12, 1912, Ohio State Journal, Columbus Evening Dispatch and Columbus Citizen.

Prof. Mills then placed the box in its receptacle in the cornerstone and spread the first trowel of mortar; President Wright and Secretary Randall likewise handled the trowel, when the upper stone was lowered in position and the interesting exercises were at an end.



## THE INDIAN VILLAGE OF "CUSH-OG-WENK."

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BY THOMAS H. JOHNSON, COSHOCTON.

The generations who were active participants in the events which constitute the early history of Ohio having passed away, it seems to me the imperative duty of those now living, whose early life overlapped the survivors of the active participants in the stirring events of that earlier period, to place on record any recollections they may have of the stories told by those old survivors tending to identify the localities connected with such historical events. I therefore venture to submit the following communication relative to certain localities of historical interest, at and near the town of Coshocton, with a view to its preservation in the Archives of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

In so doing it is proper to state, in explanation of my source of information, that I was born and raised in the town of Coshocton; that my Grand-mother, the widow of David Johnson, of County Tyrone, Ireland, married James Renfrew, of Coshocton and brought her five children to that place about 1820, while some of the Indians still remained in the vicinity.

From statements of my father, W. K. Johnson, and my Uncle, John Johnson, and also of some of the older settlers who still survived in my boyhood days, among whom I may mention Captain Neff and Jesse Workman, I have information which I feel should be placed of record before it is wholly lost.

*First.* The Indian Village of "Cush-og-wenk,"\* (improperly

\*In the records of the several expeditions into this region, the name of this Indian Village is generally misspelled *Gosh-og-wenk*. In the Delaware tongue "*Cush*" is *Bear*, "*Cush-og*," *Black Bear*, and "*wenk*" is *town*. In central Pennsylvania the word survives in the names of certain streams, in the following forms, viz.: "*Cush Creek*"—*Bear Creek*; "*Cushian Creek*"—*Cub Creek*; "*Cush Cushian*"—*Bear and Cub Creek*. The termination "*wenk*" was Anglicised by the early settlers, and the place become known as "*Cush-og-town*," from which it derived the later and present form "*Coshocton*."

written "Gosh-og-wenk" in some of the early documents) was situated in that part of the present Town plat lying to the southwest of the Court House, the street of the Village being not far from, and probably a little to the South of Main Street.

*Second.* The Burying Ground of the Village was on the rising ground or natural terrace east of Fourth Street, at and in the vicinity of Locust Street. Of this I have personal knowledge from having seen human bones exhumed from excavations for cellars in that vicinity.

*Third.* Col. Broadhead's expedition of 1780, which resulted in the surprise and capture of the Village of "Cush-og-wenk," was marked by two disgraceful incidents:—the treacherous murder of an Indian Chief, by Louis Wetzel, while the Chief was in conference with Col. Broadhead; and the equally treacherous and disgraceful massacre of helpless prisoners.

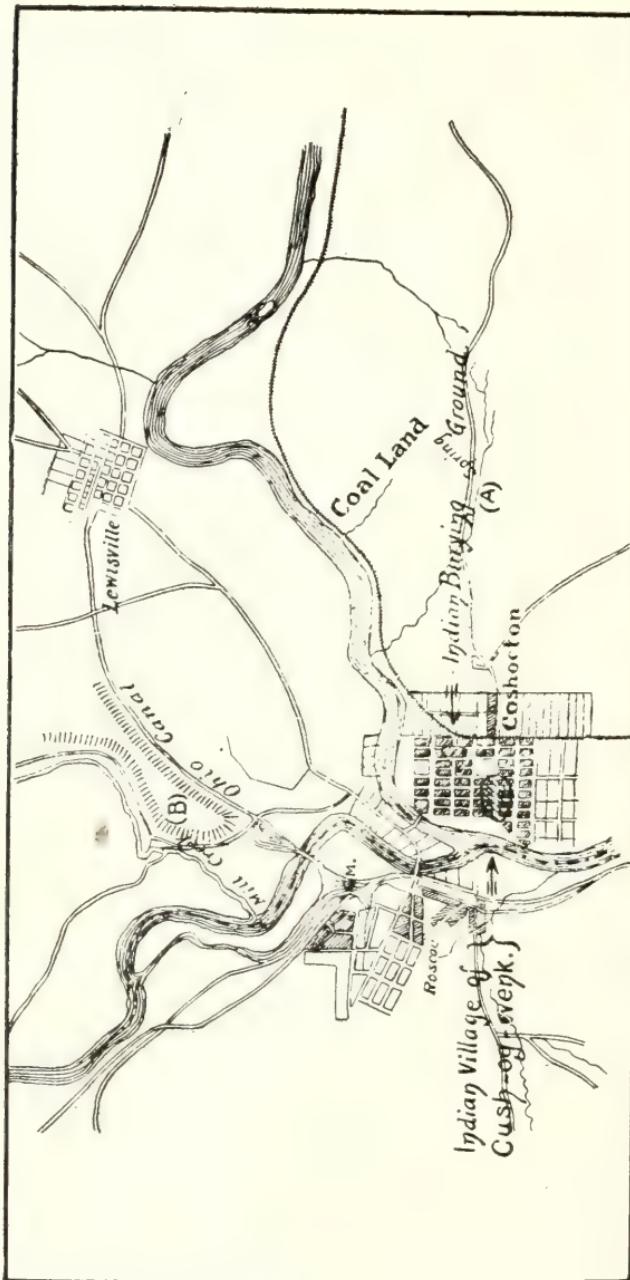
The former incident occurred while Col. Broadhead and the Chief were standing in the Street of the Indian Village. According to reported statements of Mr. Abraham Sells during his life, the spot where this occurred was a little south of the present Main Street, and east of Water Street. This is probably as definite as the location can now be fixed.

In Howe's "Historical Sketches of Ohio" it is stated that the massacre of the prisoners on the return march began when they were about one-half mile east of the Village and continued along the line of march until all were killed.

This differs from the story as told me by old settlers, which was that the army halted at a spring about one mile east of the village and that during that halt the prisoners were killed, and that the Indians had marked the site of this massacre by cutting a tomahawk and scalping knife in the bark of a Beech tree growing on the spot.

The stump of this tree still existed in my younger days, and was often pointed out to me by my Uncle, Mr. John Johnson, who never did so without expressing regret that the tree had been cut, and waxing indignant at the wanton sacrilege of the act.

It seems to me the latter version is the more probable. This act of barbarism is far more likely to have occurred, while the



Map showing "A," site of Col. Broadhead's massacre of Indian prisoners, 1780. "B,"  
Col. Bouquet's Camp, 1764.

military formation was broken during the halt at the spring than while on the march; and the incident of the symbols cut on the tree is very strong confirmation of this version.

*Fourth.* Col. Bouquet's Expedition in 1764, established its camp "on the highlands about one mile north of the mouth of the White Woman (or Walhonding) River." These "highlands" consist of a narrow ridge extending for about three quarters of a mile in a southwesterly direction, with the valley of the Tuscarawas River on the one side, and of Mill Creek on the other.

The exact site of the camp cannot now be determined. I have been told that as late as about 1840, the lines of earthwork could still be traced, and that skulls and horns of cattle and sheep still marked the site where these animals had been slaughtered for food. But unfortunately no one then thought to mark the spot, nor to leave a record that would make the site recoverable.

The selection of this site is a testimony to Col. Bouquet's military genius. The top of the ridge is comparatively flat or gently rounding, and well adapted to the purposes of a camp. The sides are quite steep, made more so near the top, especially on the Mill Creek side, by an outcropping ledge of Sandstone. In all that region there is no other spot that could be so easily defended against attack. The extreme end of the ridge falls off with a more gentle slope affording an easy approach for those having lawful business with the camp or its commander.

I enclose a blue-print map, from which a cut may be made, of the region showing the localities referred to in this communication. The site of Col. Bouquet's camp must be taken as only indicating the ridge on which it was located. The actual site may have been any where within (say) a half mile along this ridge.

## THE OHIO-COLUMBUS CENTENNIAL.

August 26—September 1, 1912.

BY OSMAN C. HOOPER.

On February 14, 1912, Columbus had been for a hundred years a "habitation and a name," and the capital of Ohio, prospective or actual. It was on St. Valentine's day, 1812, that the legislature, sitting at Zanesville, the second of the temporary capitals of the young State, took the final action, locating the permanent capital on a site which was described as "the high-banks of the Scioto opposite Franklinton." That description was necessary because as yet man had done little or nothing there to change the face of nature. Forest trees crowned the "high banks" of the river, as its waters, reinforced by those of the Olentangy, started south on their way through the Ohio and Mississippi river channels to the Gulf of Mexico. The occupants of a couple of cabin homes, set in the woodland on the bank of the stream, could look across to Franklinton, a settlement which Lucas Sullivant, fifteen years before, had located on the low-lands at the fork of the streams.

It was, we must believe, an attractive site that was presented to the legislative committee by Lyne Starling, John Kerr, A. McLaughlin and James Johnston. The lands of the plateau had originally been patented to refugees of the war of the Revolution, but had been sold by them to the four men mentioned who, combining their interests, laid off a tract of about twelve hundred acres, platted it provisionally, and made proposals to the legislature for the location of the capital. Five other sites were proposed—Worthington, Delaware, Circleville, an unbroken tract near the present town of Dublin and another known as the high banks, Pickaway Plains. There was a spiritual contest for the prize which was finally awarded, by a substantial majority in each house, to the Starling-Kerr-McLaughlin-Johnston group.

By the terms of the proposition thus accepted, the proprietors of the land were:

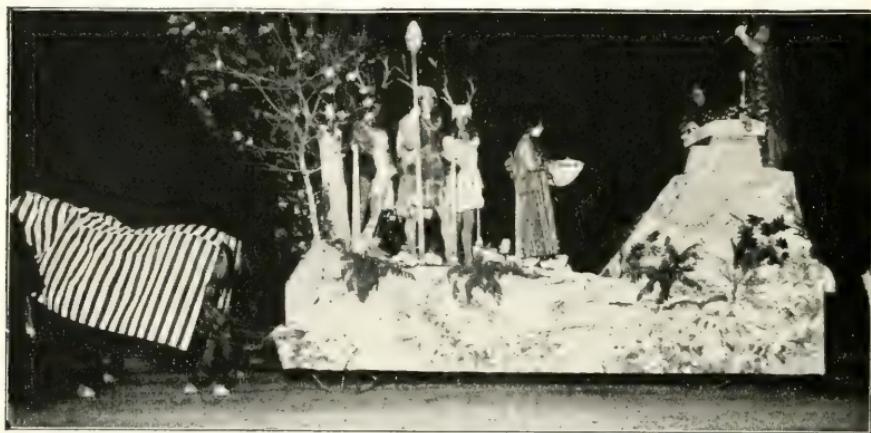
1. To lay out a town on or before the first day of July, 1812, in accordance with plans presented to the legislature.
2. To convey to the state by general warranty deed such square of ten acres, or near it, for the public buildings, and such lot of ten acres for the penitentiary and dependencies as a director, or such person or persons as the legislature will appoint, may select.
3. To erect and complete a state house, offices and penitentiary and such other buildings as shall be directed by the legislature, to be built of stone and brick, or of either, the work to be done in a workmanlike manner and of such size and dimensions as the legislature shall think fit, the penitentiary and dependencies to be complete on or before the first day of January, 1815; the state house and offices, on or before the first Monday of December, 1817.

It was agreed, on the part of the state, that the sessions of the legislature should begin in the new capital at the last named date and continue until the year 1840 and, that until the new buildings were completed, the sessions of the legislature should be held in Chillicothe, from which place in 1810 they had been removed to Zanesville.

For the faithful performance of their obligations, Messrs. Starling, Kerr, McLaughlin and Johnston gave to the state \$100,000 bond. On February 20, the legislature adopted a resolution, in accordance with a suggestion by Joseph Foos, calling the new capital Columbus; and on the same day, appointed Joel Wright, of Warren county, director, to "view and examine" the lands proffered and to lay out and survey "the town aforesaid." Director Wright called to his assistance Joseph Vance, of Franklin county, and together they surveyed and staked out the streets, public squares and building lots of the capital. In April, the four proprietors advertised that the first sale of lots would begin June 18 and continue for three days. And so it was done, many lots being sold, chiefly on High and Broad streets, at prices ranging from \$200 to \$1,000, one-fifth down and the remainder in four equal annual installments.

Improvements began at once with the felling of trees and the building of homes of logs or clapboards, a few of the first

settlers being housed by autumn, but most of them being delayed in their occupancy till the following spring. It was a busy scene at the site of the capital for, in addition to the home-building by the settlers, there was at Franklinton a rendezvous for the soldiers called into service for the war against the combined British and Indians. Prominent in the military preparations was Joseph Foos, who had suggested the name for the new capital. Leaving the senate, he became a captain in the militia and was soon promoted to the command of a brigade. While the settler's axes were resounding in the woodland of the high banks, he was recruiting and equipping troops and sending them to the north for



Float—The Mound Builders.

the battles which, in connection with Perry's famous victory on Lake Erie, were to retrieve the disaster of Hull's surrender of Detroit.

Such were the events and such the scenes of a hundred years ago for the celebration of which a few thoughtful persons began to plan as early as 1907. It was the late Henry T. Chittenden who first proposed, through the newspapers of Columbus, the celebration of the founding of the city as the capital of the State. His thought found favor and the newspapers from time to time gave it expression, but it was not till March 8, 1909, that any definite action was taken. On that date, the city council of Columbus adopted a resolution, authorizing the Mayor to appoint

four commissioners on the part of the city, to act in conjunction with four others to be named by the Governor of Ohio, to consider and report on the feasibility of celebrating in 1912 the completion by the state and the city of a hundred years of association as commonwealth and capital. The legislature, on the following day, adopted a resolution providing for the appointment of the commissioners on the part of the State. Mayor Charles A. Bond appointed as such commissioners Dr. J. F. Jones, Messrs. Lee M. Boda, Julius F. Stone and C. Edwards Born. Governor Judson Harmon appointed General R. B. Brown, of Zanesville; Mr. T. C. Laylin, of Norwalk; Mr. S. W. Crawford, of East Liverpool, and Mr. John A. Poland, of Chillicothe. At the first meeting of the commissioners, held December 29, 1909, General R. B. Brown was elected president and Lee M. Boda, secretary. At a later meeting, C. E. Born was chosen vice president and Julius F. Stone treasurer. In April, 1910, the commission made report to the Governor and Mayor, recommending a two weeks' celebration to begin Tuesday, June 18, the one hundredth anniversary of the first sale of lots, and setting forth in detail the meaning and magnitude of the project. In May, 1911, the legislature gave further proof of its interest by appropriating \$25,000 for the centennial, providing, however, that the celebration should be held in connection with the annual State Fair.

That gave the first substance to the project, and the commissioners went zealously at work to secure from the city its promised financial support and to complete the plans for the celebration. It was no easy task for in the city, while there was general approval of the project, there was a difference of opinion as to the method of celebrating, the wish of many being to subordinate the spectacular and to erect some permanent memorial of the occasion. At a time when the division of sentiment threatened to wreck the whole scheme, a meeting of citizens was held at the Chamber of Commerce. Secretary Boda, upon whom the burden of the executive work had fallen, called emphatically for some decision. The desire was to raise \$100,000 as the city's share of the cost, a thing easy of accomplishment, if there were only agreement. The deadlock was broken when Robert F. Wolfe, on behalf of his manufacturing interests, offered to give

one-tenth of the amount, if all the remainder were subscribed and paid. Other subscriptions followed and in the subsequent canvass a total of some \$43,000 was raised, of which Mr. Wolfe gave one-tenth. The final decision was that as far as possible the spectacular and the permanent memorial ideas should be combined, and that the celebration should be restricted to one week, August 26-September 1, inclusive. The subsequent work of preparation proceeded rapidly. A program for the several days was outlined and, on a chart which he prepared, Secretary Boda, upon whom the detail work continued to fall, entered features as the cost of them was assumed by the subscriptions.

In the mean time there had been several changes in the personnel of the commission. General Brown had resigned as president and his place had been taken by Dr. J. F. Jones who, owing to a necessary absence from the city, resigned from the presidency and the commission, March 12, 1912, and was succeeded by Dr. W. O. Thompson, president of Ohio State University. S. W. Crawford had also resigned from the commission and been succeeded by Lowry F. Sater, of Columbus.

In the earlier period of the preparation, there had been an effort to enlist the co-operation of other cities and counties of the state in the making of the historical exhibit and pageant, and there had been a generous response, but it was finally decided by the commission to accept no outside aid and to make the celebration with the funds contributed by the legislature, already referred to, and by the citizens of Columbus.

Under these circumstances, there began with the firing of a salute of one hundred guns, Monday morning, August 26, the celebration of the Ohio-Columbus centennial. The full program was as follows:

MONDAY, AUGUST 26—COLUMBUS DAY.

MORNING—

Salute of 100 guns.

Formal opening of the Centennial. Addresses of welcome by Governor Harmon and Mayor Karb of Columbus, in front of State House. 9 o'clock.

Opening of historical exhibit at Carnegie Library under auspices of the Daughters of the American Revolution. 10 o'clock.

Great Industrial Parade, showing manufacture and commerce by beautiful and attractive floats. 10 o'clock.

AFTERNOON—

Opening of Ohio Centenary State Fair.

Open Air Concerts in State House grounds. 4 o'clock.

EVENING—

Carnival Parade of Ohio automobiles, with costumed characters, escorting "Miss Columbus" and her glittering train of Court Attendants, representing the capitals of the various states. Brilliant ceremony of crowning the Queen of the Carnival. 7 o'clock.

Specially designed display of fireworks from the roof and dome of the Capitol.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27—OHIO DAY.

MORNING—

Reunion of descendants of Ohio Governors, presided over by John Bushnell. Addresses by Ex-Governor Campbell, Dean C. Matthews and Dr. W. O. Thompson. 11 o'clock, Southern Hotel.

Meetings of County Associations and the "Home Folks."

Woman Suffrage Parade.

Reception of Ohio's German Singers.

AFTERNOON—

Ohio Centenary State Fair.

Open-air concert by the Central Ohio Saengerbund in the Capitol grounds. 4 o'clock.

EVENING—

Splendid street pageant, "The Story of the State," told by wonderful and artistic Tableau Cars, antique vehicles and over a thousand costumed characters. 7 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28—FRATERNAL AND CHORAL DAY.

MORNING—

Gathering of Fraternal Orders.

Grand parade of Fraternal Orders. 9:30 o'clock.

AFTERNOON—

State Fair.

EVENING—

Repetition of Historical Parade, "The Story of the State." 7 o'clock.

Grand, free concert of Ohio Saengerbund, with noted soloists, at Memorial Hall. 8:15 o'clock.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29—FEDERAL DAY.

## MORNING—

Reception of the President and many distinguished guests.

Review of Federal troops. 10 o'clock.

Parade of German Singers. 10 o'clock.

## AFTERNOON—

Meeting of Bench and Bar, Chamber of Commerce Auditorium.  
3 o'clock.Public reception to the President in rotunda of the Capitol. 3:30  
o'clock.

Ohio Centenary State Fair.

## EVENING—

Bench and Bar banquet. Addresses by President Taft and others.  
Southern Hotel.Mysterious parade of the Order of the Serpent. 7:30 o'clock.  
Grand display of fireworks.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30—AGRICULTURAL AND VETERANS' DAY.

## MORNING—

Reunion of Veterans.

## AFTERNOON—

Parade of Veterans of the Civil War, escorted by Sons of Veterans,  
Spanish War Veterans and allied organizations.Special Session of Ohio State Grange. State Fair Grounds. 1:30  
o'clock.Unveiling of Revolutionary Tablet at Memorial Hall by Daughters  
of American Revolution. 2:30 o'clock.

Ohio State Fair.

## EVENING—

Camp-fire.

Historic pageant, "The Story of the State." 7 o'clock.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31—MOTHERS' AND CHILDREN'S DAY.

(This day under the auspices of the Ohio Federation of  
Women's Clubs.)

## MORNING—

Pageant of the Nations, presented by 2500 children in costume.  
O. S. U. Athletic field.

Lunch for distinguished women, at noon, by invitation only. Southern Hotel.

**AFTERNOON—**

Women's meeting at Memorial Hall. Addressed by Frances Squire Potter, of University of Wisconsin and others. Followed by reception. 3:30 o'clock.

Ohio State Fair.

**EVENING—**

Grand closing display of fireworks at Franklin Park.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1—CENTENNIAL SUNDAY.

**MORNING—**

Patriotic services in all churches.

**AFTERNOON—**

Open air union meeting at Franklin Park, Mr. C. L. Dickey, presiding. Addresses by Rev. Dr. W. H. Scott, Rev. Dr. S. S. Palmer, Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden. Music by massed choirs. 3 o'clock.

**EVENING—**

Special meetings of religious organizations.

There was great popular interest in the parades and pageantry which may be said to have demonstrated, as never before in Columbus, the excellence of this form of celebration. In Broad street, from High to Third, a court of honor had been created by the erection of artistic columns. These columns, decorated and crowned with electric lights, lined the street on either side, leaving between them a path which was traversed by all of the parades, while on the south side of the street a grand stand held the reviewing parties and thousands of the spectators. Sidewalks and the windows of buildings along the line of march held other thousands of thoroughly delighted spectators. The capitol building was illuminated and decorated with colors as never before, while the city buildings, business houses and private residences were gay with flags, pennants and bunting. The State and capital were celebrating the end of one century of association and the beginning of another, and the people were thoroughly awake to the importance and joy of the occasion.

All of the parades were worthy of their makers—that of the manufacturers and merchants, the carnival parade of automobiles, the parade of the women seeking the suffrage, that of the

fraternal orders, the German singers and the federal troops, the Order of the Serpent and the veterans of the civil war and the war with Spain. But the prime interest of the people was in the historical pageant of twenty-six floats, prepared after specifications by Assistant Secretary H. H. Bennett, of the commission, and accurately representing different periods and events incident to the history and development of Ohio. These floats represented the Mound Builders, the earliest occupants of the territory that is now Ohio, in the act of making a human sacrifice upon one of their altar mounds; a scene on the Portage path during the days of the Indians; Bienville taking possession



Float—The Griffin, the first sail boat on Lake Erie.

of the Ohio for France; a Jesuit Father preaching to the Indians on the site of Sandusky; the first sailing vessel on Lake Erie; Dunmore's council with the Indians on the Pickaway plains; an Indian attack on a settler's cabin; a flatboat on the Ohio; the signing of the first constitution; Ohio to the front in the war of 1812; the defense of Fort Stephenson; Perry's victory on Lake Erie; the Northwest Territory and her children, the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin; an early canal boat; the Harrison campaign of 1840; Ohio's schools and colleges; the departure for the war, 1861; Ohio in camp; the return from the war; honor to the veterans; the landing of Co-

lumbus; the nations in Ohio, depicting the various peoples from whom the population has been recruited; the electric age, with special recognition of Thomas A. Edison, Elisha Gray and Charles Francis Brush, all Ohioans; Ohio in the Spanish-American war and Ohio triumphant, illustrating Ohio's contribution to the nation in the fields of politics, war, literature, art, philanthropy and womanhood.

Each of these floats was a careful study in costuming and appointment and, as it passed, stood out like a picture on the page. An interesting feature of the parade was the exhibit of the development of transportation—the horseback rider, the ox team, the stage coach, the carriage and the automobile. The stage coach used was the one in which Horace Greeley is said to have made one of his fast trips to keep an engagement and is now the property of the Wells-Fargo Express company. At different points in the line were groups representing a war party of Indians, a company of French soldiers, a company of English soldiers, a company of Continentals and a squadron of veteran cavalry, the last named being led by Colonel W. L. Curry. All these, as well as the members of the different bands in the pageant, were costumed appropriately to the periods which they represented respectively. A descendant of Governor Duncan McArthur was on the float representing the period of 1830 and descendants of singers of the famous campaign of 1840 were on the float typifying that famous struggle. For few of the people was one view of the pageant enough. Happily, it was given three times during the week, and everybody had a chance to enjoy it to the full and get the import and inspiration of it all. Experts in pageantry pronounced this Ohio historical pageant as good in quality as any anywhere given in the country.

The historical loan exhibit, held under the auspices of the Daughters of the American Revolution in the Carnegie building of the Columbus Public Library, was another illustration of the fine spirit pervading the occasion. The articles composing the exhibit numbered 701 and were gathered in all parts of the state from the homes of those who hold them dear. The exhibit was open daily throughout the week, and the number of visitors ran far into the thousands.

The reunion of the descendants of Ohio governors brought together one hundred and twenty-five persons who can claim that distinction. The gathering was presided over by Mr. John Bushnell, of Springfield, son of the late Governor Asa Bushnell, and was marked by many memories of Ohio's line of executives, many of whom were further distinguished by their service of the nation.

The coming of President Taft on Thursday marked the national interest in the celebration. He visited the State Fair and spoke, held a public reception in the rotunda of the capitol and spoke again at a banquet of the bench and bar in the evening. Early in February, the President had written to the commission that "the occasion is one of more than state-wide interest, including, as it does, not only the other States of the Northwest Territory in its scope, but the commonwealth from which came the bulk of the population of Ohio." He predicted then that the celebration would be a success, and on the day designated as Federal day, came to help make the prediction a reality.

While the parades, exhibits and meetings were making the interest in the city, the greatest State Fair in the history of that enterprise was in progress on the grounds north of the city. It was greatest, not only in the number and quality of its exhibits, but also in its attendance.

Other notable features of the week were the gathering of civil war veterans to the number of nearly 4,000, their notable reunions and the courtesies extended to them by Colonel Dodd, commandant, and the other officers at the United States Barracks; the concert of the Ohio Saengerbund which filled Memorial Hall to overflowing; the pageant of the nations presented by 2,500 children in costume, on Ohio field at the Ohio State University, and the open air religious services at Franklin park on the afternoon of Sunday, September 1. On the last named occasion, representative ministers of the city pointed out the lessons of the celebration then closing and Dr. Washington Gladden read a noble poem inspired by it.

The celebration, owing to the excellent management by the commission, came to a close without an incident to mar the pleasure of it. The four hundred thousand visitors came and returned

to their homes without a serious accident. There was abundant entertainment for all and there was no extortion anywhere. Every feature of the celebration over which the commission had control was absolutely free, yet when the books were closed every expense had been provided for.

The great Sunday afternoon meeting at the park seemed to indicate that the "tumult and the shouting" had not driven out of mind the more serious considerations. The glorification of the past seemed to have emphasized the importance of present problems, and there was fervid expression of the hope that we of today and tomorrow may be as faithful to our duties as were those of yesterday to theirs.

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#### DR. GLADDEN'S CENTENARY POEM.

[On Sunday, September 1st, the official celebration of the Ohio-Columbus Centennial closed with the Amen of Rev. L. T. Lowe, when he pronounced the benediction upon 3,000 persons who gathered at Franklin Park in the afternoon to participate in joint exercises, which included an original poem by the Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, which we herewith publish in full.]

We come at length as shadows lengthening fall,  
To the last hour of our high festival;  
In "God's first temple," in the summer air  
We lift our hearts to him in praise and prayer,  
Praise for the good that crowns the century's close,  
Prayer for the light and strength his grace bestows  
On all who humbly seek him; that the days  
Now lying fair before us, and the ways  
Through which his love shall lead us may be bright  
With his o'ershadowing presence; that the night  
All 'round us shall be light because of Him.  
That through the murk and maze of futures dim  
His shepherding may keep us, and his power  
Protect us in the dark and perilous hour.

We wait upon his word. Who speaks for him?  
Unseal our vision! Let the seraphim  
Now stooping near us touch our eyes to see  
The form that bends above us; set us free  
From flesh and sense, that we may duly hear  
The word she speaks unto the inward ear.

"Faith of Our Fathers," let that be the name  
 By which we know her. Evermore the same,  
 Benignant, beautiful, with radiant face  
 And smile that tells us of a happy place,  
 With beckoning hand, and winning upward glance,  
 And sober yearnings on her countenance.—  
 "Faith of Our Fathers,"—not their dogmas drear,  
 Filling men's hearts with trouble and with fear;  
 Faith is no fabric by logicians wrought,  
 No sublime of metaphysic thought,  
 No trap of dialectic, shrewdly set  
 To catch incautious souls in error's net.  
 Nor any skeleton with bony hands



Float—Céloron de Bienville taking possession of Ohio, 1749.

That here today across our pathway stands;  
 Nay, 'tis a Spirit, the soul of trust and truth,  
 Of loyalty and honor, grace and ruth,  
 Through whom we know God near, and not afar,  
 And that in him we live and move and are;  
 This is "Our Fathers' Faith," their living faith,  
 That kept them whole, in loss and pain and scathe.  
 Their creeds we could not keep; their like we need;  
 Their life in God, for that is life indeed.  
 'Tis this fair form that bends now from the sky  
 With beckoning hand to tell us God is nigh,  
 As near to us as ever to our sires,  
 With grace that pardons, comforts, shields, inspires.

Spirit divine, we wait thy words of cheer:  
(If any man have ears, now let him hear.)  
Thou art Religion, not rite, nor book nor ban—  
The life of God within the soul of man;  
Thou hast been with us in the ages past;  
What hast thou for us in the future vast?  
“Ye seek to know”—thus saith the Voice divine—  
“What visions call me, and what tasks are mine  
In days that are before us. Ye do well  
Thus to inquire; for oft beneath the spell  
Of whirling wheels and flying fires, man deems  
That nothing is, outside the mindless streams  
Of elemental force; that truth and right  
Are apparitions that deceive the sight;  
That obligation binds no human choice;  
That duty waits on inclination’s choice;  
That reverence springs from superstition stale;  
That God’s great law is but an old wives’ tale.  
Too prone are men, in these tumultuous years,  
To still their consciences and quench their fears,  
To stifle all the hopes that lift them higher,  
And feed with snow the flame of pure desire;  
This is Religion’s task, to bring again  
The torch of truth to light the lives of men;  
To touch their eyes, that visions may appear  
Of God’s great presence, shining round them here;  
To lift the veil of law that hides God’s face  
And show that earth is still a holy place;  
That every work of man beneath the sun,  
By wisdom counseled and in love begun—  
All work whose purpose makes for human weal,  
By hands that toil, or serve, or help or heal—  
That shape the fabric or that break the clod—  
Is done by men who needs must work with God.  
Yea, God is in his world; no prophet old,  
Could trace his power in shapes so manifold  
As those which daily hold your wondering eyes  
In loving work that round about you lies;  
To find him here; his wise designs to see;  
To join your wills with his in service free,  
This is the task Religion finds for you  
Who seek her ways to know, her will to do.  
She brings the Holy City down to earth,  
And bids its citizens to know their worth

As sons of God; she summons them to raise  
On fair foundations walls of chrysoprase  
And jasper, sapphire, beryl, chrysolite—  
All stones of price, all precious in God's sight—  
On purity and truth and honor bright  
Temples and towers and courts and halls of light  
And homes of purity, and mills and marts  
And shops of industry and shrines of arts—  
To build all these, in days now drawing nigh  
After the pattern shown us in the sky.

Such is the message that today is brought  
From that which answers to our deepest thought;  
Such are the tasks that wait upon our will  
In days which mercies past with promise fill.  
To build a city here of fair renown  
After the pattern that the heaven sends down;  
A city founded on this simple plan—  
Friendship for God, and friendship, too, for man.  
God's friendship! 'Tis the sure foundation stone  
On which its life must rest: the faith alone  
That makes men faithful, the firm tie that binds  
Man to his highest fealties; clouded minds  
It clears, crowns trust and truth, makes honor dear;  
Kindles high courage, quells ignoble fear,  
Sends cringing craft to heel, gives love the rein,  
And holds in reason's thrall the greed for gain.  
Friendship for God—it is the vital breath,  
That cities live by, yea the prophet saith;  
"Except God build the city it shall fall;  
Men toil in vain upon its crumbling wall."  
A godless city—what shall be her fate?  
Hear what the Lord hath spoken; "Desolate  
Shall be her courts, and bitter her complaints,  
For the whole head is sick, the whole heart faints;  
How is the faithful queen, by treachery stained,  
Become an harlot; and, where justice reigned,  
Red murder riots: rulers, while men sleep,  
Trample on laws that they have sworn to keep;  
Thieves their companions, bribers their allies,  
Heedless of justice, deaf to all the cries  
Of fatherless and widows."

Such the scourge  
Of godless cities, such the fateful dirge  
That prophets sing when cities turn from God  
And recklessly defy his chastening rod.

O you whom God hath called and set apart  
To build a city after his own heart,  
Remember well, your peace is in his hands,  
Your welfare waits on his benign commands.  
His friendship seek, his word of life obey  
And trust his grace to guide you all the way.  
"Be friends with God," this is the golden text  
That gives us queenly cities; and the next—  
"Be friends with men," this crowns the city fair  
And makes it beautiful beyond compare.

O you whom God hath called and set apart  
To build a city after his own heart,  
Be this your task—to fill the cities' veins  
With the red blood of friendship; plant her plains  
With seeds of peace; above her portals wreath  
Greeting and welcome; let the air we breathe  
Be musical with accents of good will  
That leap from lip to lip with joyous thrill;  
So may the stranger find upon the streets  
A kindly look in every face he meets:  
So may the spirit of the city tell  
All souls within her gates that all is well;  
In all her homes let gentleness be found,  
In every neighborhood let grace abound,  
In every store and shop and forge and mill  
Where men of toil their daily tasks fulfill,  
Where gilding brain and workman's skill are wise  
To shape the product of our industries,  
Where treasured stores the hands of toil sustain,  
Let friendship speed the work and share the gain.  
And thus, through all the city's teeming life,  
Let helpfulness have room, with generous strife  
To serve; let those who sit at Beauty's feet  
Rejoice to make this world of ours more meet  
For men to live in; let the poet's art  
Kindle new kindness in the human heart;  
Let every hand find work to swell the store  
Of common welfare, and let all hearts pour  
Their offering of service, till the best  
That each can bring is shared by all the rest;  
Proving the Master's saying, that we live  
By what we get, but more by what we give.

And thus, O city fair, your life shall be  
Benignant, bountiful, abundant, free;

For God shall dwell among us, and men shall say  
 The former bitter things are passed away;  
 Gone are our strifes and banished all our fears,  
 For here is love that wipes away all tears;  
 Here is the rest for which our souls have striven;  
 This is the city that came down from heaven.

#### WHY OHIO IS GREAT.

At the dinner participated in on Tuesday, August 27, at the Southern Hotel, by the Descendants of Ohio Governors, the



Float—Dunmore's Council on Sippo Creek, 1774.

following address was made by Prof. Dean C. Mathews, of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Mathews is a great-grandson of Samuel Huntington, third governor of Ohio, 1812-1814.

#### MR. MATHEW'S ADDRESS.

Why is Ohio great? We may say that Ohio is the result of an idea, of fortunate circumstances and favoring physical conditions. The *idea* of individual human freedom, granted by

the Magna Charta, reinterpreted by the Constitution of the United States and applied in the Ordinance of 1787; the *circumstances* arising at the close of the great struggle for American independence; the *physical gifts*, of land that was good and natural resources that were rich and an economic advantage derived from situation on transcontinental waterways of lake on the north and river on the south, great paths through which the people of the continent presently should pass. For the westward march of civilization was to be by way of Ohio. All these were instruments. Ohio owes her greatness to something more than these. She owes her greatness to her men!

From the Pennsylvania of William Penn and of the German, from the Massachusetts and Connecticut of the Puritan, from the Virginia of the Cavalier, came Ohio's pioneers. Some came from New York on the north and from Kentucky on the south but these were a vanguard from the commonwealths already named. Ohio's earliest citizenry was representative of the best vigor of the American continent. As an Ohio historian (Alfred Mathews) has said: "Ohio was settled by the people of the United States. . . . Her's was the first territory to be representative of the entire people."

Who were the leaders among these people?

Emerson says: "It is natural to believe in great men. The world is upheld by the veracity of good men: they make the earth wholesome. . . . When nature removes a great man, people explore the horizon for a successor; but none comes, and none will. In some other and quite different field the next man will appear."

It is grateful recognition of the wise, patriotic and prophetic labors of the fathers that we, sons and daughters, their descendants of several generations, are gathered here today.

We may not speak in detail of each of the more than two score of men who have filled the Governor's office. To do so would require the chronicles of a historian or the extraordinary personal acquaintance of one like the honored William McClintick, of Chillicothe. Some of you will recall Mr. McClintick's unusual address delivered ten years ago on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the signing of the State Constitution.

You will then remember this patriarch's statement that he had personally known all the governors of the state, from Edward Tiffin, the first governor, and Thomas Worthington, to the then governor, George Nash, with the exception of Samuel Huntington, Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., and Ethan Allen Brown. As their descendants, we may merge our individual loyalties in a generous appreciation of all. Each proved himself the strong man for his time.

Fortunate in her later governors, the State was peculiarly fortunate in her first executive. Doctor, clergyman and lawyer, Edward Tiffin sensed the spirit of his constituents, appreciated the state's opportunity and anticipated the future with the mind of a prophet. The promise of what he was to be in the Northwest Territory is indicated by a letter written in 1798 by President Washington to Governor St. Clair:

"SIR:—Mr. Edward Tiffin solicits an opportunity in the territory Northwest of the Ohio.

"The fairness of this character in private and public life, together with a knowledge of law, resulting from close application for a considerable time, will, I hope, justify the liberty I now take in recommending him to your attention. Regarding with due attention the delicacy as well as the importance of the character in which I act, I am sure you will do me the justice to believe that nothing but the knowledge of the gentleman's merits, founded upon a long acquaintance, could have induced me to trouble you on this occasion.

"With sincere wishes for your happiness and welfare, I am, etc., etc.,  
"GEO. WASHINGTON."

This is believed to be the only letter of recommendation for public position written by President Washington.

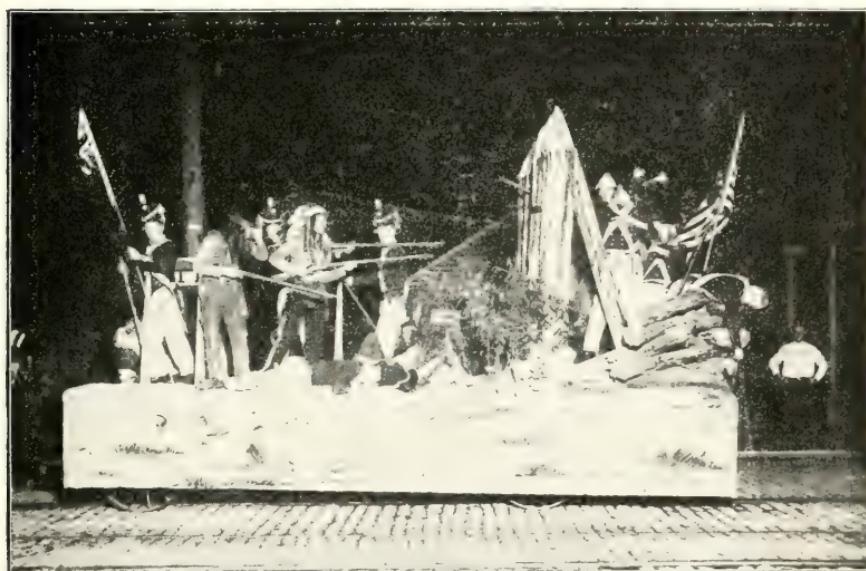
Tiffin became Speaker of the Territorial Legislature, President of the First Constitutional Convention, and the first governor of the state. As Governor he was elected and later reelected by the unanimous vote of the people, an honor not bestowed on any of his successors. His inaugural address urged measures for popular education, the opening of wagonroads, the improvement of waterways, and means of defense against hostile tribes of Indians. Referring to the interference by Spanish settlers of the lower Mississippi with free navigation of that river he said, addressing the Legislature:

"It would be as impossible to prevent the Mississippi River from discharging its waters into the ocean as to prevent the people of the West from asserting their natural right to force, with that stream, the fruits of their industry to every part of the world."

Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State, in secret instructions to the United States Minister at Madrid, had written:

"Impress the Spanish ministry thoroughly with the necessity of an early settlement of this matter, for it is impossible to answer for the forbearance of our western citizens."

Governor Tiffin, in a subsequent message, after congratulating the State of Ohio and the people of the West upon the



Float—Defense of Fort Stephenson.

complete purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France, and after reciting that Spanish authorities and residents on the lower Mississippi refused to acquiesce and were still harassing American traders and impeding the navigation of the river, urged the Legislature of Ohio to provide that "five hundred of our best disciplined and best officered militia be held in readiness to go down the river should the Spaniards either refuse or delay to give up Louisiana agreeably to the treaty."

Governor Tiffin's prophetic vision again was demonstrated in the matter of the Aaron Burr conspiracy. Some time before the national government realized the situation the alert Ohio executive had discovered the facts. These he laid before the Legislature, meeting behind closed doors. The attitude of the State was unhesitant and the conspiracy was destroyed before the official warning letters addressed by the President to the governor of Ohio and Kentucky were received. This prompt action was publicly acknowledged by President Jefferson who, in a letter to Congress, wrote as follows:

"Governor Tiffin and the Legislature of Ohio, with a promptitude, an energy and patriotic zeal which entitle them to a distinguished place in the affections of their sister states, effected the seizure of all their boats, fifteen in number, provisions and other preparations within their reach and thus gave a first blow, materially disabling the enterprise in its outset."

Samuel Huntington, nephew and adopted son of the Samuel Huntington of Connecticut who was President of the Continental Congress, a Master of Arts from Yale and a lawyer by profession, had come to the Northwest Territory upon the invitation of Governor St. Clair. One of the representatives of the Western Reserve in the Constitutional Convention, he became also a member of the first senate and was elected to the first Supreme Bench. Because of the light thrown upon conditions prevailing at the time we may be pardoned for introducing presently direct quotations from letters to which we have personal access. The Supreme Court held its sessions in the different settlements, in circuit. Travel for the supreme judges, as for everyone else, was by horseback, by the wagonroads and bridle-paths cut through the woods. But in a letter written from Chillicothe, November 8, 1808, after writing of political conditions, Mr. Huntington inserts this less serious paragraph:

"My silk stockings. I should be glad if you could conveniently send them, also my cotton gloves which were forgotten. Do not send them unless by some trusty person coming directly here."

Evidently the good housewife at Painesville sent the finery safely through for to a letter written at Chillicothe on December 29, following, Mr. Huntington added this:

"P. S. The stockings and gloves came, safe."

Strange contrast, — silk stockings, buckles, gracefully shaped coat with white ruffles at neck and wrists, — strange contrast to those conditions which everywhere surrounded in the far-extending woods. The records of the Assembly show that many a day was occupied by the consideration of bills for the ridding of the country of wolves and panthers. Judge Huntington himself, when making the trip from his home at Painesville to Cleveland alone, at night, on horseback, was attacked by a pack of wolves.

Those were the days of "wars and rumors of wars." From his home on Lake Erie to which he had retired at the close of his term of office as Governor, (1808-1810), Mr. Huntington wrote, June 3, 1812:

"It seems to be the general opinion that war is inevitable, but I think it will be a continuance of the paper war and that more ink than blood will be shed in it..... The blustering system has so long been in use that we do not regard a little more of it as a sure indication of hostilities."

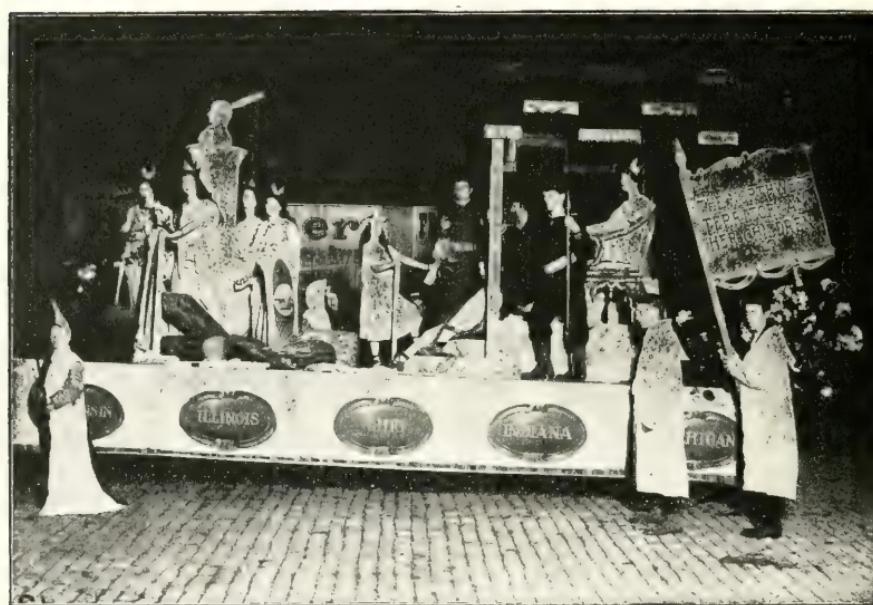
But the following is from a letter which on August 26, 1812, he wrote to his wife from Ravenna:

"It was found necessary for some person to go direct to Washington City to procure Arms, &c, and the Council of War appointed me for that purpose — \* \* \* & I consider it my duty in this emergency to go — despatch was necessary & I could not go home without losing a day. I accordingly set out yesterday noon with what preparation I could make in 2 hours. I must be in Washington in a week and shall not probably stay there more than 2 days — it will take me a week more to return and I shall return by the way of Cleveland — If Frank (their son) is called for he must go: — I hope with George and the little boys you will suffer but little inconvenience until I return. \* \* \*

"The Indians have all gone down to attack Fort Wayne and from there they will proceed to Fort Vincennes on the Wabash so that for five or six weeks they will find enough to do in that quarter and before that time the troops will arrive from the South & until then it will be practical to keep our militia ready for them between Cleveland and Miami. There is no cause of apprehension this side of Huron River and none there but from a few stragglers who may steal the Cattle that are left, when they find the People have gone off — I hope the people at Grand River will not be scaring one another. One wagon going off starts fifty more. — Col. Cass is going on with me and we are in great haste."

The trip to Washington was successful. Government aid was secured for the prosecution of the war. Huntington was made Paymaster of the Northwest Army with rank of Colonel. Thenceforth he spent much time in the field. Conditions were bad. From an army camp at Lower Sandusky, July 12, 1813, he wrote home:

"The troops are very sickly — great numbers die daily. If they remain at Fort Meigs or this place until the last of September there will not be one man to help another. \* \* \*. The Indians are con-



Float—The N. W. Territory and her children, the five states.

stantly about us watching an opportunity to cut off small parties. They killed seven persons within plain sight of the garrison."

In a letter addressed to his son-in-law, Dr. John H. Mathews, of Painesville, January 3, 1814, he wrote:

"From what information we can obtain the Enemy is marching to attack us either here or at Sandwich & Madden. \* \* \* The certainty of inhuman treatment from British & Indians, the retaliatory system adopted, and the exasperated state of mind of both parties on this frontier at this time, all combine to make both desperate, and to inspire a resolution in our troops never to surrender. \* \* \* The

folly of withdrawing our forces from this district & sending them beyond the reach of intelligence in any possible time for relief, will soon appear — conquering Canada by proclamation and holding it by retreating out of it are parts of the same system of warfare."

From Chillicothe he wrote, November 8, 1814:

"We arrived here on the 6th after traveling almost constantly in the rain. \* \* \* I can obtain no money for the pay of the army. The Bankers do no business & the silver is banished (from) the Country. I shall remain here until I can hear from Washington. From the news received since I left home it appears we are to have a long and bloody war, that the taxes are to be doubled & the Militia are to be called in some shape or other — how we are to get money, nobody can tell. In this gloomy state of things we must be prepared to make great sacrifices and we must make them or give up all of our rights & perhaps, the property on which we subsist. If the Country is united — we shall do well at last."

And again:

"\* \* \* But I ought to keep home out of my head. It distracts me from doing the duties of my office. It must enter my mind only at certain times, & never when on business."

Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale, a member of the Territorial Legislature, a judge of the first Supreme Court of the State, was twice elected to the executive office. On December 9, 1812 Governor Meigs appeared in person before the two Houses of the Legislature and his annual message, which was startling in its terms, being the first official notification of the Declaration of War against Great Britain. The Legislature was asked to strengthen the arm of the national Government and the response was instantaneous.

The impressive part which Ohio took in that war is evidenced by the fact that this state alone furnished 24,000 soldiers of all arms, being 33 per cent of the entire male population above twenty-one years of age. In a later day, after another war, an Ohio governor and President of the United States (Rutherford B. Hayes) declared: "God loves Ohio or he would not have given her such a galaxy of heroes to defend the nation in its hours of trial."

It is of interest to us today to note that it was in Governor Meigs' administration that a site on "the lands of John and Peter

Sells, on the West bank of the Scioto River, four and three-fourths miles west of the town of Worthington," was selected as the permanent seat of Government.

During the administrations of Thomas Worthington, who had served in the Territorial Legislature and as one of the first United States senators from Ohio, of Ethan Allen Brown, a judge of the state Supreme Court and later elected to the United States Senate, of Allen Trimble, seven times elected Speaker of the State Senate, of Jeremiah Morrow, a member of the Constitutional Convention, the first State Legislature, a member of the national House and Senate and declared by Governor Anderson to have been "the one ablest and best of all the governors," the National Road, and state roads were built, the state canal system was completed, and the public school system extended. Duncan McArthur third of Chillicothe's four governors, of brilliant record in the Indian wars, who had resigned from a public position to enlist as a private in the War of 1812, but by conspicuous service became a Brigadier-General of the regular army, was the last of the "pioneer governors."

During the administrations of these men the newly organized state had taken an important place among the commonwealths, the frontier had been subdued, a treasonable conspiracy had been quashed, a war whose brunt had fallen on this outlying people had been waged and won, state and national turnpikes and a canal system had been constructed. Caleb Atwater, in his *Ohio History*, written at about this time, says: "It is honor enough for any common man to be a good and worthy citizen of Ohio—travel where he may in the Union."

With the administrations of the latter governors of the First Constitution, and of the period immediately preceding the Civil War, we are familiar. The names of the great "War Governors" and of those who have served since the Civil War are household names. The earlier and later governors of Ohio have served as Presidents of the United States, Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, Senators of the United States, Members of the Cabinet of the United States and as Foreign Representatives of the United States. Of their patriotic services we,

their descendants must speak with the emphasis of understatement.

Again we quote Emerson:

"Within the limits of human education and agency, we may say great men exist that there may be great men. \* \* \* It is for man to tame the chaos; on every side, whilst he lives, to scatter the seeds



Float—Ohio Triumphant.

of science and of song, that climate, corn, animals, men, may be milder, and the germs of love and benefit may be multiplied."

"God of the prophets! bless the prophets' sons;  
\* \* \* Make their hearts awake  
To human need; their lips make eloquent  
To assure the right, and every evil break.  
O mighty age of prophet kings, return!  
God of the prophets! bless the prophets' sons!"

## THE LIBRARIES OF PADDY'S RUN.

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BY S. R. WILLIAMS.

The first State School Commissioner of Common Schools of Ohio called attention to a library founded in a community in the state by the contributions of its pioneer settlers. "To the inspirations from this library" to quote the Commissioner, "some of the first names in our annals owe the impulse to a distinguished career."

The history of this library and its successors follows.

At the opening of the country west of the Great Miami for settlement the community of Paddy's Run, or Shandon as it is now, (twenty miles northwest of Cincinnati) was established in large part by a group of emigrants from Wales seeking to better themselves financially, intellectually and spiritually. The most of the incoming settlers from Virginia and the Carolinas were of the same type, and one of the first deeds of the infant community was the founding of a church—a Congregational church which celebrated its centennial in 1903.

The next move was the beginning of a private school. William Bebb, one of the pupils in this first school, established one of his own, the Bebb school which did its share towards educating the boys of the near by town of Cincinnati.

The third step was the starting of a library.

In the old library record book the first dates of withdrawal are in the year 1817. There are many entries in 1818. The library so flourished that on February first, 1812, we find an agreement of the Union Library Company of Morgan and Crosby townships which contains 18 articles and is signed by twenty-five men.

This document is endorsed further as follows:

State of Ohio Seventh Circuit.

I, Joshua Collett, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for said seventh Circuit approve of the within articles of Association.

August 29, 1821.

(Signed) Joshua Collett.

## The State of Ohio.

We have examined and do approve of the within articles of Association.

April 2, 1822.

(Signed) V. Burnet

John McLean

Judges Supreme Court Ohio.

Received and recorded May 18th, 1822 in Book II, pages 137 and 138 by

C. K. Smith,

Fees, \$1.12½. Recorder of Butler County, O.

Shares in this Library association cost three dollars each and sixty-five were taken. One can scarcely realize now what an influence two hundred dollars worth of books would have on a community which had *no* newspapers and few private books beside the Bible.

Gathering from the records of withdrawals, since there is no list of the library extant, we find that they had the following books: Plutarch's Lives, Pictorial Cincinnati, Lives of the Poets, Riely's Narrative, Brooks' Gazetteer, Lewis' and Clarke's Expedition, Esop's Fables, Davis' Agriculture, Park's Travels, Gay's Fables, Chaptol's Chemistry, Life of Bonaparte, Essay on Sheep, Josephus, Brydone's (also written Drybones) Tours, Guthrie's Geography, Ramsay's United States, Clark on Slavery, Blair's Lectures, and The Spirit of Despotism.

These books were drawn in turn by most of the subscribers and many were renewed or redrawn many times.

The withdrawal page of Edward Bebb—father of future Governor Bebb, was as follows:

1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825
9	12	11	15	10	12	14	7	4

William D. Jones, storekeeper, was not such a bookworm. His record is rather light:

1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824
4	2	3	2	—	—	2

Moreover he was fined a bit (12½ cents) for two folded leaves in a returned book and thirteen bits (\$1.62½) for keeping out Brooks' Gazetteer for thirteen weeks so possibly the literary ambition was untimely quenched in his case.

Naturally the Association Library was kept at the mill where everybody's grist was ground. This mill was in a bit of very rough country in order to avoid digging a long race and the roads to it were mere bridle paths, passable for a horse and rider with his sack of grain. In later years when supplies could be gotten in larger quantities on the improved turnpikes from Cincinnati and Hamilton the mill fell into disuse and the library was lost. As far as is known none of the books are now in existence.

In 1852 a second library association was formed, probably on the suggestion of Evan Bebb of New York City, a son of the pioneer Edward Bebb and a brother of the Governor. This was restricted to one neighborhood and thirty-one shares of five dollars were paid in. Mr. Bebb donated ten dollars, gave from the best of his private library, and interested his business partner, Edward G. Graham, so that Mr. Graham sent to the library a number of valuable books on travel, history, and science. Mr. Bebb interested himself also in helping select the books and place the orders. At that time in paying the book bill the exchange on New York cost one-half of one per cent.

Other contributors to this library were Honorables Tom Corwin, Robert C. Schenck, and Lewis D. Campbell, of the House, and U. S. Senator George E. Pugh.

At first shareholders only were permitted to use the library. Later on, payment of fifty cents yearly others were admitted to the privileges and when a written order from a member permitted the withdrawal of books it became virtually a free library.

In later years when the special school district constructed a new schoolhouse a room was built for the accommodation of this library and it was donated by the shareholders to the community.

There have been now and again additions and the library is still serving its purpose and fulfilling the aims of those pioneers whose desire for knowledge and intellectual advancement led them to gather a group of books for general use nearly a century ago.

It is not easy to say where the force of heredity stops and that of environment begins. Doubtless inheritance of the desire for independence and for intellectual life from their forbears has influenced those who have been reared in the valley, and these

libraries may have been a result rather than a cause of this life. The fact remains, however, that more than one hundred young people have gone from this small neighborhood to schools of a collegiate rank. Besides its large share of business and professional men the general vicinity has produced a number of men of more than local prominence. Judges, a United States Senator, two Governors of Ohio, and two editors of more than national reputation show that this locality has a high ranking in the production of our ideal crop—the American Citizen.

In the training of these men for their greater work the Paddy's Run Library has borne its share.

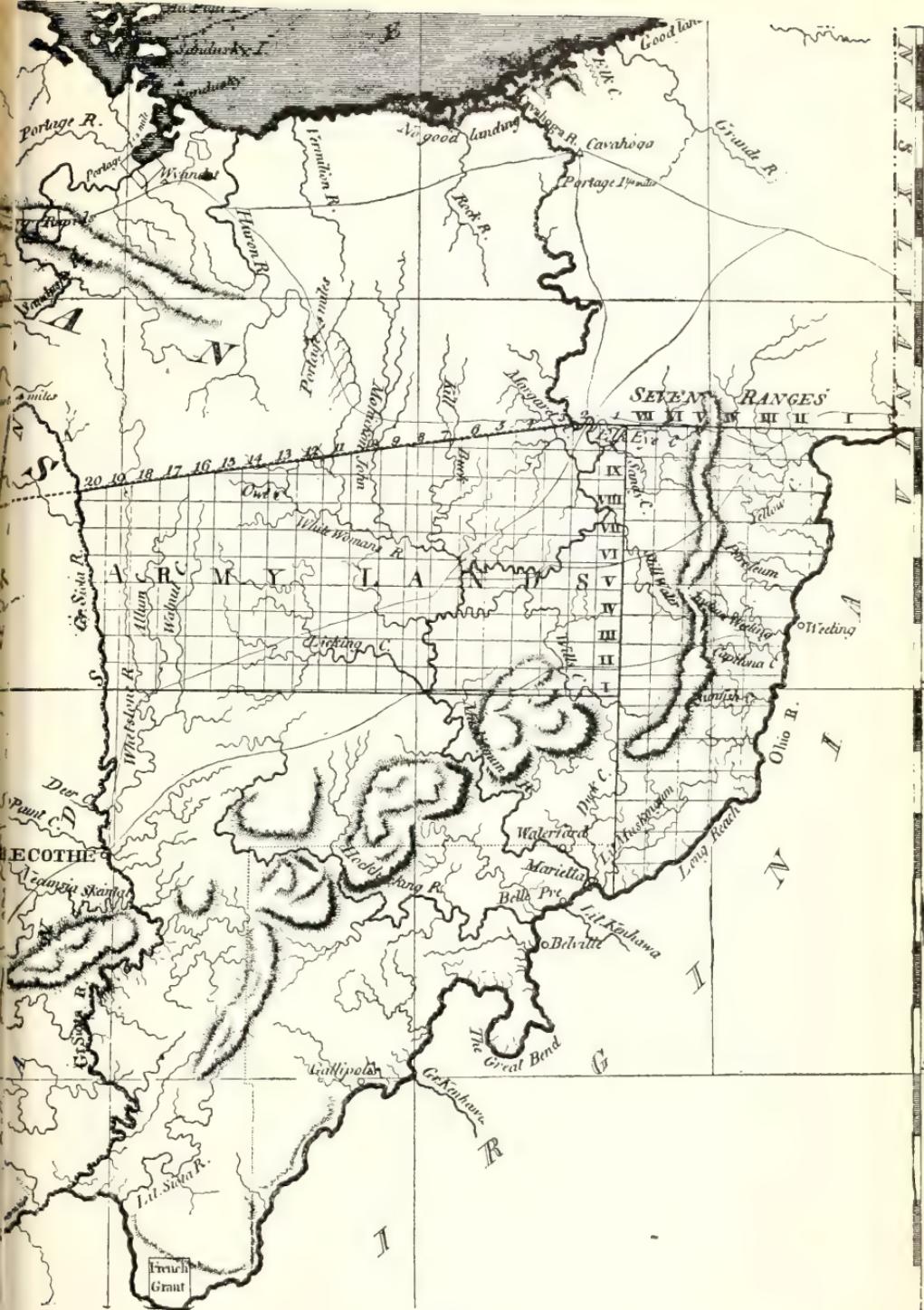


## **SURVEY OF THE SEVEN RANGES.**

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After the immigration into the Western Reserve of the advance columns of the Connecticut Land Company, it was several years before the survey of the new Western Reserve Empire was completed. The base lines of the survey were the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as determined ten years before (1786), and the parallel  $41^{\circ}$  latitude north was now (1796) run for the first time and extending west from Pennsylvania 120 miles. From this base line, lines were run north and south, five miles apart, and later cross lines, parallel to the base line, were run, five miles apart, thus making twenty-four townships across, east and west, and twelve, north and south, in the deepest place, that is on the extreme east. Each township was therefore twenty-five miles square. The townships, east and west, were numbered as "ranges," and from the base line north as "towns." Cleveland, for instance, was in Range 12, from the Pennsylvania line, and town 7 from the base line. The southern line of the Reserve,  $41^{\circ}$  north latitude, is often confused, by writers, including many historians, with the Geographer's Line which was  $40^{\circ} 38' 02''$  latitude north, the gap between the two lines being approximately twenty-five miles, and according to recent researches in government archives by Mr. Albion M. Dyer, Curator of the Western Reserve Historical Society, the famous Seven Ranges running south from the Geographer's Line were not extended north until 1800 and 1801, when, under the direction of Rufus Putnam, then surveyor general, they were continued to the southern line of the Western Reserve, thus adding four townships to each range. The Geographer's Line was extended west to the Ninth range, where it met the Indian boundary line of the Greenville Treaty, the line extending from Fort Laurens through Loramie's Station to Fort Recovery.

We accompany this description with a cut made from a map in possession of the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.



## TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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July 26, 1912.

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The adjourned session of the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was held in the Hunter Society Room, Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, at two o'clock P. M., Friday July 26, 1912, in accordance with the action taken at the preliminary meeting, held May 25, 1912, as recorded herein, *ante*, p. 328.

The following members were present:

Prof. M. R. Andrews, Marietta,  
Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester,  
Mr. A. J. Baughman, Mansfield,  
Mr. T. B. Bowers, Columbus,  
Mr. Henri E. Buck, Delaware,  
Hon. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk,  
Mr. D. H. Gard, Columbus,  
Col. John W. Harper, Cincinnati,  
Col. Webb C. Hayes, Fremont,  
Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus,  
Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield,  
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus,  
Mr. J. S. Roof, Ashville,  
Dr. W. B. Rosamond, Gilmore,  
Mr. L. P. Schaus, Mt. Vernon,  
Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus,  
Dr. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin.

The meeting was called to order by President G. Frederick Wright, who stated that the first thing in order would be the reading of the minutes of the last Annual Meeting.

Secretary Randall stated he would follow his usual custom in regard to the reading of the minutes by simply referring the members of the Society to the published report of the meeting

in our annuals. From the detailed stenographic report which he had in hand, setting forth the proceedings of the last Annual Meeting, he had made a condensation which appears in Volume 20, beginning at page 335. The Secretary stated it would take considerable time to read those minutes in full, and he referred the members present to the published report above mentioned. Upon proper motion and second, the published minutes were accepted as the minutes of the last Annual Meeting.

The Secretary then read in substance his annual report, covering the past year of the proceedings of the Society.

#### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

As published in the April and July Quarterly (1912) page 328, a preliminary Annual Meeting of the Society was held, the proceedings of which are published as noted above. The meeting of the adjourned session of the Annual Meeting was called, by postal cards issued to the members, for Friday, July 26th. And now we are assembled for that meeting.

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This report covers the period from the Annual Meeting, May 31, 1911, to this meeting (July 26, 1912).

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#### MEETINGS OF THE TRUSTEES, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE BUILDING COMMITTEE.

June 22, 1911. (Building Committee.) Met in Hunter Society room, Page Hall, Ohio State University. There were present: President G. F. Wright, George F. Bareis, D. J. Ryan, L. P. Schaus, W. C. Mills, E. O. Randall and E. F. Wood. There were also present by special invitation, President W. O. Thompson and Trustee W. J. Sears, Ohio State University. At this meeting the subject of the site was discussed and assurance given by the University authorities that the location south of the main entrance on High street would be granted, and that some mutual arrangement could be made by which the Society building could have the benefit of the heating and lighting plants of the University. It was also proposed that the architect of the building be appointed from the proposed Architectural Board of the University. It was decided by formal vote that not more than \$85,000 should be expended upon the building proper, and the items pertaining to the building itself, such as lighting, heating and so on, and that \$15,000 be

reserved for the purpose of equipment, architects' fees and expenses not included in the actual building.

July 24, 1911. (Executive and Building Committees.) Present: Messrs. Wright, Prince, Buck, Schaus, H. A. Thompson, Harper, Randall, Mills and W. O. Thompson. At this meeting W. C. Mills was elected trustee of the Society to fill the unexpired term of General R. Brinkerhoff, whose decease occurred June 4, 1911. Formal announcement was made of the granting by the University to the Society of the site desired for the building. In accordance with the written opinion of the Attorney General, the Executive Committee appointed the Building Committee, consisting of Messrs. Wright, Bareis, Ryan, Schaus, Mills, Wood and Randall. Col. Webb C. Hayes and Ex-Governor Myron T. Herrick were added to the Committee. Prof. J. N. Bradford was confirmed as the architect for the building. Prof. Bradford was present and submitted plans which he had drawn up.

August 2, 1911. (Building Committee.) Present: Messrs. Schaus, Wright, Bareis, Ryan, Randall, Mills and Hayes. There were also present Mr. J. U. Gribben and Messrs. Howard & Merriam who submitted tentative plans for the Spiegel Grove building. At this meeting Messrs. Howard & Merriam were selected as architects. A sub-committee of five was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Schaus, Hayes, Wright, Bareis and Mills, to have charge of the erection of the building at Fremont. The matter of the paving of the avenues about Spiegel Grove was discussed.

August 4, 1911. (Spiegel Grove Building Committee.) Met at Fremont, with the following members present: Messrs. Randall, Schaus, Wright and Mills, and also Mr. Merriam, the architect. The matter of the paving of Hayes and Buckland avenues was discussed with the Finance Committee of the Fremont City Council. A site was selected for the museum and library building on the Spiegel Grove property.

September 18, 1911. (Building Committee.) Present: Messrs. Schaus, Bareis, Randall, Ryan, Wood and Mills. Mr. Mills made a report of his visit to Spiegel Grove on September 4, 1911, and Mr. Schaus reported his visit to the same place on September 15th. At these visits preliminary arrangements were made with Mr. H. C. Deran, as contractor, and the city authorities, as the second party, with the Society as the first party, for the paving of Hayes avenue. Details in regard to the plans for the museum and library building were discussed.

September 28, 1911. (Board of trustees.) At this special meeting of the Board of Trustees, the following members were present: Messrs. Buck, Schaus, Prince, Bareis, Baughman, H. A. Thompson, G. Frederick Wright, Harper, Metz, Treadway, Gallup, Randall, Wood and Mills. The architect, Mr. Bradford, submitted an estimate for the construction of the building, which estimate in the aggregate amounted to \$92,000, which was \$7,000 more than the cost of the building as determined upon

by the Trustees at a previous meeting. The architect's plans were adopted and the Building Committee authorized to advertise for bids. The frontage of the building was to be 223 feet and 10 inches, with a depth at the south end of 50 feet and at the north end, 76 feet. The height was to be 54 feet, with the understanding that wings could be added to the rear of the building at some future time. President Wright announced the standing committees as follows:

FORT ANCIENT: Messrs. Prince, Thompson (H. A.) and Mills.

MUSEUM AND LIBRARY: Messrs. Wright, Schaus and Gallup.

FINANCE: Messrs. Wood, Ryan and Bareis.

PUBLICATIONS: Messrs. Ryan, Wood and Randall.

SERPENT MOUND: Messrs. Mills, Prince and Harper.

BIG BOTTOM PARK: Messrs. Martzloff and Buck.

SPIEGEL GROVE: Messrs. Wright, Schaus and Hayes.

BUILDING COMMITTEE (Columbus); Messrs. Schaus, Wright, Bareis, Ryan, Wood, Randall, Mills and Hon. Judson Harmon, ex-officio.

BUILDING COMMITTEE (Spiegel Grove): Messrs. Schaus, Wright, Bareis, Hayes and Mills.

Mr. Howard, architect of the Spiegel Grove building, was present and submitted partially completed plans, the estimated cost of which would be \$38,000, not including the finishing inside or the furnishings. The matter of formally approving plans for the Spiegel Grove building was left to the General Building Committee.

October 23, 1911. (Building Committee.) Messrs. Bareis, Schaus, Randall, Wood, Ryan and Mills present. At this meeting it was reported that the State Approving Board, consisting of the Governor, Secretary of State and Auditor of State, declined to accept the plans and estimates of the Museum and Library Building to be erected at Columbus, as there was a difference between the estimates of the architect and the amounts proposed to be expended by the Trustees for the building and equipment respectively. At this committee meeting the estimate was revised, making the building \$85,000 and itemizing the expenditure of the remaining \$15,000 for interior completion and furnishings.

December 19, 1911. (Building Committee). Present: Messrs. Schaus, Randall, Ryan and Mills. This meeting was called for the purpose of opening bids on the main museum and library building. There were some seven bidders, the highest bid being \$141,668 and the lowest, by taking advantage of certain alternates, \$96,998. But as this sum was greatly in excess of the estimate and agreed cost, namely \$85,000, the question arose whether the Approving Board would permit the acceptance of the bid by the Trustees.

January 7, 1912. (Building Committee.) Present: Messrs. Bareis, Schaus, Randall, Wood, Ryan and Mills. At this meeting the bid of \$96,988, the lowest bid, was accepted, subject to the approval

of the state authorities and the Board of Trustees of the society. The supposition was that the State Approving Board would permit the trustees of the society to waive its decision to confine the cost of the building itself to \$85,000. It was believed that by proper explanation by the trustees to the Approving Board that the latter would permit the entire \$100,000 appropriation to be expended for the building, that being the interpretation given to the item of the appropriation in the Appropriation Bill by written opinion of the Attorney General. At this meeting the architects of the Hayes Memorial Building were authorized to make plans for a building not to exceed the cost of \$35,000 including architects' fees. Messrs. Randall and Ryan were requested to confer with the State Approving Board as to the situation concerning the project of the main building.

January 17, 1912. (General Building Committee.) Present: Messrs. Schaus, Bareis, Wood, Ryan, Randall and Mills. At this meeting it was reported that the architects for the Spiegel Grove building had delayed proceeding with their plans as they had been instructed to do so because some correspondence was pending between the officers of the society and certain private parties with the view to getting a donation from the latter, so that a larger building could be erected.

January 26, 1912. (Board of Trustees). Present: Messrs. Wright, Wood, Thompson (H. A.), Schaus, Bareis, Baughman, Harper, Mills, Andrews, Prince, Randall, Ryan and Gallup. At this meeting the report was made that the Attorney General, Governor, Secretary of State and Auditor of State were of the consensus of opinion that the society authorities might waive the understanding that the building was to cost \$85,000, and that the opinion of the Attorney General might be accepted to the effect that the whole \$100,000 appropriated might be spent on the building itself, the equipment of the building to be taken care of later by additional appropriation by the Legislature. But that as none of the bids received on December 19, (1911) were within the estimates for a building on file with the State Auditor, the Approving Board decided all bids must be rejected and new contracts be advertised for.

February 1, 1912. (General Building Committee). Present: Messrs. Schaus, Randall, Ryan, Wood and Mills. At this meeting Mr. Randall reported that the contract with the lowest bidder had been drawn up, submitted to the Attorney General, approved by him, merely as to form, and then presented to the Approving Board. Upon their consideration they decided that there was some doubt about the legality of the contract for \$96,998 when the estimates submitted by the architects and society, on file in the auditor's office, called for a building costing only \$85,000. Messrs. Randall and Ryan were instructed to revisit the State Approving Board, fully explain the situation, that the Attorney General had ruled that the \$100,000 might be spent on the building and that to reject

the present bids and go through the motions for another bid would be expensive for the state in time and money.

February 9, 1912. (General Building Committee). Present: Schaus, Bareis, Wood, Mills and Randall. Mr. Randall reported to the committee that after many conferences with the members of the Approving Board, the Board declined to approve the proposed contract which the Trustees wished to accept, on the ground that while it was within the \$100,000, which the Attorney General had ruled, and the Approving Board agreed, could be expended on the building, yet the estimates and plans on file with the state officials called for a building not to exceed \$85,000 in cost, and they could not approve this contradictory situation. And in this action the board had the opinion of the Attorney General to the same effect. The State Approving Board stated the only thing that could be done would be for the Building Committee to reject all bids, and call for a rebidding, and that in that rebidding the society might accept a proposal for a building to cost in itself an amount not to exceed \$100,000. At this meeting, therefore, it was moved and carried that all bids be rejected and that revised estimates be submitted by the architect for a building not to exceed \$100,000, and bids be asked for.

March 22, 1912. (General Building Committee). Present: Schaus, Wright, Randall, Ryan, Bareis and Mills. In accordance with the action of the committee at its last meeting, the architect revised his estimates and items of expenditure for the building; bids were advertised for, to be received and opened at this date (March 22, 1912). Two bids were submitted for the construction of the entire building, the lowest one being for a total of \$102,550, and the second one being for a total of \$96,957, neither including sewer, heating, plumbing and ventilating. Bids were also received for these last items, one for \$9,327 and another for \$10,000. Neither of these bids, therefore, in the aggregate came within the maximum limit, namely \$100,000. All bids were, therefore, rejected. It was decided at this meeting to reduce the frontage of the building to 199 feet and 8 inches and make certain other modifications in the use of material. The architect was authorized to readjust the plans to conform to the new proposition.

April 22, 1912. (General Building Committee). Present: Messrs. Bareis, Wood, Randall, Wright, Schaus and Mills. Col. Haves of the sub-committee of the Spiegel Grove building was present also. Howard & Merriam presented the plans for the Spiegel Grove building to cost \$35,000, exclusive of the heating and furnishings. These plans were approved and accepted by the committee and the architects instructed to present the plans before the authorized state officials, namely, Building and Fire Commissioners and the Approving Board, and after getting their consent advertise for bids. The contract between the society and the architects was presented and signed.

May 25, 1912. (Preliminary Annual Meeting). Present: Messrs. Bareis, Baughman, Bowers, Buck, Gallup, Harper, Mills, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, Siebert, Thompson (H. A.), and Wood. A report of this preliminary annual meeting is to be found in the April and July Quarterly (1912), page 328.

June 8, 1912. (General Building Committee). Present: Schaus, Wright, Ryan, Randall, Wood, Bareis and Mills. Prof. J. N. Bradford, the architect, was also present. This meeting was for the purpose of opening the third round of bids, the latter in accordance with the last publication and estimates of the society. The bids were as follows: One for \$83,000; the second for \$87,476; a third for \$89,127, and a fourth, The Dawson Construction Co., \$83,963. Two bids were received on the sewer, plumbing, gas fitting, heating and ventilating, i. e., The Wm. H. Conklin Co., \$8,497, and another for \$9,275. The bid of the Dawson Construction Co. for \$83,963, minus a reduction of \$1,200 for their alternate "B" to substitute U. S. steel sash and frames for the wood sash and frames, making the net bid \$82,763, and therefore the lowest, was accepted. The bid of The Wm. H. Conklin Co. for \$8,497 was also accepted, this bid being for the sewer, plumbing and gas fitting, heating and ventilating. It was agreed that each member of the Building Committee sign the contract of The Dawson Construction Co. Mr. Schaus reported the completion of the paving of Hayes Avenue at Spiegel Grove and explained the financial situation as to the payment by the society of its proportionate part of the expense.

July 17, 1912. (Executive Committee). Present: Messrs. Bareis, Buck, Mills, Prince, Randall, Schaus, Wood and Wright. Permission was granted at this meeting to the Adjutant General to encamp portions of the Ohio National Guard at Fort Ancient from July 20 to 27 and from August 18 to 25, 1912. The Secretary reported to this meeting the matter of the donation of the Logan Elm site to the society, which subject is more fully explained elsewhere in this report.

On July 26, 1912, ground was broken for the erection of the museum and library building on the Ohio State University Campus.

#### PUBLICATIONS.

Since the last annual meeting there is no report to make concerning the publications, except the statement that Volume 20, covering the Quarterlies for 1911, was issued in January, 1912. At the same time distribution was made to the members of the Legislature of the reprints of the society annuals including Volume 20. This was done in accordance with the appropriation of \$7,000 for that purpose. The Quarterlies for January, April and July (1912) have been issued.

## NEW LIFE MEMBERS.

Since the last annual meeting of the society the following persons have qualified as life members of the society:

Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus, Ohio.  
Mr. F. H. Godell, Cleveland, Ohio.  
Mr. Henri E. Buck, Delaware, Ohio.  
Mr. Edwin O. Wood, Flint, Michigan.  
Mr. Joseph B. Doyle, Steubenville, Ohio.  
Mrs. Howard Jones, Circleville, Ohio.  
Prof. Edward Orton, Jr., Columbus, Ohio.

## APPOINTMENT OF TRUSTEES.

Two trustees are to be appointed by the Governor in place of those whose terms expired last February, viz., Col. John W. Harper, Cincinnati, and Rev. N. B. C. Love, Toledo. Governor Judson Harmon has not at this date (July 26) appointed their successors, and the trustees just named are, therefore, holding over until such appointments are made.

## THE LOGAN ELM.

Some time last fall (1911) Mr. Frank Tallmadge, life member of the society, reported to the Secretary that he was endeavoring to negotiate the purchase of the site of the Logan Elm in Pickaway County, some five miles south of Circleville. Interested with Mr. Tallmadge in this project was Mr. Chase Stewart, formerly a member of the Legislature. They proposed to buy four and six-tenths acres from Mrs. Mary A. Wallace. But the question troubling them was the future care of the property. They finally decided to donate it, when secured, to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, provided it would accept the same and agree to fence in the property and prepare suitable roadway from the pike back to the Elm, a distance of some 500 feet. This matter was brought before the Executive Committee, which authorized the Secretary to proceed with the negotiations and accept the property when donated under the conditions stipulated. Before Messrs. Tallmadge and Stewart could secure the property misunderstandings arose between them and the grantor, and the purchase was not completed. At this stage of affairs the Pickaway County Historical Association, of which Mrs. Howard Jones is president, took up the matter and finally purchased the property, with the understanding that the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society would accept the same and perpetually care for it. This proposition was approved by the Executive Committee, July 17, 1912. The Pickaway County Historical Association agree to restore the tree to a perfect condition as far as possible and to deliver to our society a deed for the same when a date can be fixed upon for a formal acceptance.

The title to the property is now in the Pickaway County Historical Association.

The report of the Secretary was accepted by proper motion and action of the meeting.

#### REPORT OF CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN.

During the early part of the year the Curator explored a large mound located upon the farm of Mr. Jacob Overly, located in Paxton Township, Ross County, Ohio. This mound and the group of mounds surrounding it was supposed to belong to the great Seip group and was located only a short distance from the Seip mound explored and reported upon by the society in 1909.

During the time of our examination of the Seip mound, I frequently visited the Overly mound, which is perhaps five or six hundred feet from the Seip mound, and from the general external appearance of the mound, I felt assured that the mound did not belong to the Seip group, which is attributed to the Hopewell Culture, and my examination of the mound proved conclusively that the mortuary customs exhibited in the Overly mound were entirely different from those in the Seip mound.

The Overly mound is an irregular cone, 19 feet high, 100 feet in diameter and contained 1,600 cubic yards of earth. I was assisted in the work by Mr. H. C. McCall, assistant in the Department of Engineering at the University. Mr. McCall made a regular topographic sketch of the mound before work was begun upon it. After the work was under headway Mr. McCall noted, by the aid of his instruments, the exact location of all the finds in the mound. The mound contained only ten burials and these were located upon the "Plan of Contents."

The plan of burial in this mound was entirely different from that of the Seip mound. Of the ten burials found in the mound, two were placed near the outer edge of the mound and two more were placed very near together half way between the center and the outer edge of the mound. The three inside burials were evidently the ones for which the great monument was erected. The two inside burials were somewhat different from those upon the outside. Those upon the inside at the time of burial had been carefully wrapped in cloth from head to foot, something after the fashion of the old Egyptian mummies. This cloth had been woven from bark fiber.

The artifacts placed within the graves were far different from those found in the Seip group; no copper, mica or galenite were found. However, strings of beads made from ocean shells were found in goodly numbers.

After the examination of the Overly mound was completed, the Surveyor made a topographic sketch of the Pricer mound, which is located partly upon the Pricer farm and partly upon the Seip farm.

The general form of this mound places it with the Hopewell Culture and we have been exerting our influence in many ways to secure permission to examine this mound. The height is 29 feet, width 150 feet, length 250 feet and covers seven-tenths of an acre, and contains 1,600 cubic yards of earth. The examination of this mound by the society would greatly aid in working out the history of this Hopewell Culture.

During the year, Mr. H. E. Buck, of Delaware, presented a complete series of United States pennies from 1793, the first issue, to 1904, with the exception of the year of 1815, when no issues were made. This collection is certainly one of the most interesting of the gifts during the year.

Mr. Clarence B. Moore, of Philadelphia, presented a number of shell hoes and plummets found during his explorations in Florida.

The United States Government, through Congressman Taylor, presented a powder-can taken from the wreck of the Maine.

The heirs of the late Professor R. W. MacFarland presented to the society a piece of walnut wood cut in the form of an octagon, three-quarter inch in diameter and three feet in length. This specimen contains a silver plate with the following inscription: "Wood from the first State House at Chillicothe, presented to the Archaeological and Historical Society, by R. W. MacFarland."

Dr. W. B. Rosamond, of Milnersville, Guernsey County, has added a number of specimens consisting of axes, hammers, spear points, arrow points, etc., to his large collection donated to the society several years ago.

Mr. George S. Porter, formerly of Chicago, but now of Boston, has added to his already large collection a number of ethnological specimens from various places throughout the world. He has also added a number of oil paintings which were on exhibition at the Chicago Art exhibit.

Mr. William Stout, of Scioto County, has added two consignments of specimens to his collection from Scioto County.

Mr. Almer Hegler, of Washington Court House, has added a number of very excellent specimens to his fine collection in the Museum.

Messrs. Professor Edward Orton, Jr., and William C. Mills secured for permanent possession for the society the Captain Hampton collection of Philippine relics. This collection was loaned to the society in 1901.

Mr. Warren Cowan, Custodian of Fort Ancient, found during the year the point of a large quartz spear, the base of which he found eight years ago. This specimen is now in the Museum. It is one of the finest and largest of its kind known.

Mr. Charles E. Albright presented to the society a model of a Japanese junk used for fishing and coastwise trade in shallow harbors and rivers.

Mr. James Stafford, of Gallia, Ohio, presented the presidential tickets, both Republican and Democrat, for 1860 and 1864. Also a copy of the "Kuklux Expose," which was a large handbill reprinted from the "Louisville Commercial" of July the 5th, 1871.

Miss Lulie Jones, of 139 East Fifth Avenue, Columbus, presented to the society a large collection of pioneer relics. These were mostly used by her father's family during the pioneer days in Franklin County.

During the year, Mr. Samuel P. Adams removed from the Museum of the society and sold his archaeological collection made in Scioto County. This collection was one of the largest private collections in the state and the society was not in a position to purchase it. It was bought by a dealer in St. Louis, who removed it entire from our Museum and sold it to various collectors throughout the country.

The library of the society has been increasing although room for the proper shelving of books that are coming to us through exchange, is very inadequate and we are compelled to store away volumes that are not likely to be in frequent use.

At present our catalogue shows 4,855 volumes. Last year it was 4,263 volumes, making a total net gain of 592 bound volumes.

The Archaeological Atlas, which we hoped to have completed during the past year, is not yet finished. The twenty-one counties examined during the past year have not all been completed. The curator has attempted to finish these counties by correspondence with residents of the various counties. In some instances he has been successful; in others it will require a special visit to the counties in question to secure the necessary data. We hope this work can be carried forward during the present year.

Curator Mills supplemented his report by a statement as to the desire of the society of further exploring some of the mounds spoken of in his report, and of the difficulty of obtaining permission so to do since the appearance in the field of the Columbian Field Museum people with lavish offers of money, either to purchase the mounds themselves or for the privilege of exploring them.

Prof. Mills' report was duly accepted.

#### REPORT OF TREASURER FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING MAY 1, 1912.

##### RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, May 1, 1911.....	\$1,573 28
Life membership dues.....	50 00
Active membership dues.....	72 00
Subscriptions .....	24 25
Books sold .....	141 70

Stone sold .....	4 00
Interest .....	411 86
From owners of property abutting on Hayes Avenue, Fremont, Ohio .....	2,729 50
From State Treasurer:—	
Appropriation for current expenses.....	2,798 14
Appropriation for publications.....	2,793 89
Appropriation for field work, Fort Ancient, Serpent Mound and Spiegel Grove Park.....	2,772 43
Appropriation for improvement of abutting property of Spiegel Grove State Park.....	2,159 10
Appropriation for building for museum and library.....	113 42
Appropriation for reprinting publications.....	7,000 00
Total receipts .....	\$22,643 57

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Big Bottom Park.....	\$16 80
Building for museum and library.....	129 29
Express, freight and drayage.....	111 47
Expenses of trustees and committees.....	332 05
Field work.....	449 87
Fort Ancient—care and improvements.....	511 29
Improvement of Hayes Avenue, Spiegel Grove State Park....	4,318 20
Job printing .....	7 90
Museum and library.....	914 67
Publications .....	2,793 89
Postage .....	98 08
Reprinting publications .....	7,000 00
Sundry expenses .....	56 93
Salaries (three) .....	2,500 00
Serpent mound—care and improvements.....	273 35
Spiegel Grove park.....	268 68
To permanent fund.....	610 00
Balance on hand May 1, 1912.....	2,251 10

Total ..... \$22,643 57

## PERMANENT FUND.

Balance in fund May 1, 1911.....	\$7,550 00
Increase in 1911-12.....	610 00

Balance in fund may 1, 1912..... \$8,160 00

Respectfully submitted,

EDWIN F. WOOD,  
*Treasurer.*

Mr. Buck reported, in connection with the Treasurer's report, that he had been appointed chairman of a committee to audit the books of the Treasurer for the past year, and the committee employed a public accountant to go over the books. Messrs. Covert & McKnight of Columbus, Certified Accountants, thoroughly examined the Treasurer's account for the past year and made the following report:

COLUMBUS, OHIO, July 25, 1912.

*The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society,*

*Mr. H. E. Buck, Chairman Auditing Committee, Delaware, Ohio.*

DEAR SIR:—

As per your request, we have audited the books of account of your treasurer, Mr. E. F. Wood, and find the same correct in every particular, and to faithfully represent the conditions of the society as of May 1, 1912.

Respectfully submitted,

COVERT, MCKNIGHT & CO.,  
*Certified Public Accountants.*

By J. J. MCKNIGHT, C. P. A.

The report of the Treasurer, and the report of the Auditing Committee, were accepted.

#### REPORT OF MUSEUM AND LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

The Committee on the Museum and Library beg to make the following report:

We find that even in our present cramped quarters, we have a collection of 4,855 bound volumes covering a wide range of subjects relating to archaeology and history making the library a very attractive place for archaeological and historical studies. In the prospects of larger quarters in our new building where the material will be more available than at present we can reasonably expect a more rapid enlargement of the library even than we have had in the last few years. At present the growth of the library is almost wholly due to books received in exchange with our own publications. This, indeed, secures a most valuable class of accessions, making the library so good that it ought to be made still better by a somewhat more generous fund with which to purchase the class of books which cannot be obtained by exchange. We would, therefore, recommend that an appropriation for library purposes separate from the general fund covering the whole field of the society's expenses should be asked, the same to be expended at the discretion of the

Library Committee, using such surplus for this purpose as may be left after other expenses have been met.

For similar reasons, we recommend a separate appropriation for the care of the museum, including there a sum which may be expended by the Museum Committee in the purchase of such rare objects as cannot be obtained otherwise and as the committee shall deem of sufficient importance to secure in this way. We need not say that at present our museum contains the largest and best selected collection of specimens illustrating the archæology of our state anywhere to be found in the world. We have long since surpassed the Squire and Davis collection, purchased by Mr. Blackmore and carried away to Salisbury, England. Neither the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Mass., nor the Field Museum of Chicago, nor the Smithsonian collection can now equal us in the number and variety of our specimens. But we are permitting valuable specimens to leave the state that should be retained here; for instance, a short time ago a spear head of Flint Ridge material 18 inches long, the largest specimen of the kind ever found, was dug up in Portsmouth. It was offered for sale at \$30.00. It was afterwards sold for \$80.00 and then for \$150.00, and was taken to Wisconsin, that great receptacle of Ohio archæological and historical material. We recommend, therefore, that a moderate appropriation be at the disposal of the Museum Committee to take advantage of the opportunities which from time to time arise to obtain antiquities that are brought to light outside of our own investigations.

Now that our new building will be ready for occupancy within another year, it is a proper time to ask for a generous appropriation for the removal and proper display of the specimens, and to call the special attention of the citizens of the state to our invaluable collection, already in hand, and to stimulate their interest in the enlarged opportunities for the work which is before our society. At the same time, the committee would most earnestly recommend that the field work of the society, through which our museum is most indebted for its enlargement, be prosecuted with more vigor than ever before. We are encouraged to make this recommendation, not only because of the fruits of previous work of exploring the mounds, but because other parties are clamoring to enter the field and take our richest treasures from us. The archæological specimens of Ohio should be kept in our own state where they can be most conveniently studied and where they will be accessible to the throngs of our own citizens which more and more visit the Capital City.

\* \* \* \*

The report of the Museum and Library Committee was accepted and approved as read.

At this point much discussion was indulged in as to the right, if any, of this Society through legislative enactment or other-

wise, to enjoin or prevent other institutions from coming into Ohio and making explorations of an archaeological nature. No definite action was taken in the matter, except that the matter was referred for further consideration and report to the Committee on Museum and Library.

Trustee Baughman announced that on Sunday, September 15, 1912, there would be held the Centennial of the Battle of Copus Hill, near Mifflin, some ten miles from Mansfield. This battle so-called was the massacre of several pioneer settlers in the War of 1812 by a band of Indians, allies of the British authorities. Upon motion, President Wright appointed a committee to represent the Society on the occasion in question. The committee appointed consisted of the following members, besides the President, Messrs. Martzolff, Randall and Hayes.

Prof. Prince, Chairman of the Fort Ancient Committee, made a verbal report, to the effect that during the past year he had several times visited the Fort and had found the grounds in proper condition and that the care by Warren Cowen had been most creditable. The Fort had become more than ever a popular resort and just at this time (during the Annual Meeting) some of the State troops were being quartered there holding their annual maneuvers.

No report was made on Serpent Mound, owing to some misunderstanding as to who was Chairman of the committee and responsible for the report.

A report on Spiegel Grove being called for, Trustee Schaus, Chairman of the Spiegel Grove Committee, stated there was nothing especially to report as the matter of the building to be erected there was in abeyance awaiting the opening of the bids for the museum and library building, which bids had been advertised for and would be received on August 10th. He further reported that the paving of Hayes Avenue had been completed and that payment for the same had been properly adjusted by the property-holders, City of Fremont and our Society. The matter of paving Buckland and Cleveland avenues was now being considered, and probably some satisfactory arrangement would be concluded with the abutting property-owners and the Society.

An amendment to the Constitution of the Society was proposed by which the government of the Society should be invested in a board of fifteen Trustees, nine of whom shall be elected by ballot by the Society at its Annual Meeting, instead of fifteen as heretofore. The reason advanced for this amendment was, that a board consisting of twenty-one members as at present constituted is too cumbersome to be effective and the responsibility has to be delegated to an Executive Committee of not less than eleven, that is a majority of the board. In this latter case many of the Trustees have no direct activity in the work of the Society; if the board can be reduced to fifteen, the entire board can be called upon and eight will be sufficient to conduct business. After considerable discussion, the proposed amendment was adopted, to the effect that the number of Trustees hereafter to be elected by the Society each year, be three instead of five. Of course, the Trustees now in office will retain their tenure until the expiration of their present terms. This amendment applies to Section 1, Article 3, which hereafter shall read:

"Section 1. The government of this society shall be vested in a board of fifteen (15) trustees, nine (9) of whom shall be elected by the society at its annual meetings. The other six trustees necessary to complete the number of fifteen (15) shall be appointed by the Governor of Ohio, as provided by the legislative resolution of April 16, 1891, two to be appointed each year to serve for the period of three years, or until their successors are appointed and qualified. The nine (9) elected by the society shall be divided into three classes, three only being elected each year, to serve for three years each from the time of their election, or until their successors are elected and qualified. In case a vacancy occurs among the trustees thus elected by the society, during their term of service, the remaining trustees shall fill such vacancy until the next annual meeting of the society, when the vacancy shall be filled by the society.

"The Governor of the State of Ohio shall be ex-officio a member of the Board of Trustees of the Society."

In connection with this subject, after some discussion, it was decided by the Annual Meeting to appoint a committee on the revision of the Constitution, to report at the next Annual Meeting.

It was also decided to add to the permanent committees a permanent one on necrology.

## ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

In accordance with the adoption of the above amendment to the Constitution, the members present proceeded to the election of three Trustees, in place of the five whose terms expired at this annual meeting, namely Messrs. Bareis, Gallup, Keifer, Metz and Wood. The result of the election was the re-election of Messrs. Bareis, Gallup and Wood, who are to serve until the Annual Meeting in 1915.

Prof. Mills, having been elected in the place of General Brinkerhoff, deceased, could only serve until the next (this) Annual Meeting. It was therefore necessary to take some action concerning his encumbency. Prof. Mills was elected to serve until the Annual Meeting of 1913, at which time General Brinkerhoff's term would have expired.

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## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Annual Meeting of the Society, there was held the Annual Meeting of the Trustees. There were present:

Messrs. Andrews, Bareis, Gallup, Wood, Baughman, Mills, Schaus, Buck, Randall, Harper, Hayes, Prince and Wright.

After the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting by the Secretary, the officers serving the past year were re-elected for the year 1912, or until the next Annual Meeting, as follows:

President—G. Frederick Wright.

First Vice-President—George F. Bareis.

Second Vice-President—Daniel J. Ryan.

Secretary and Editor—E. O. Randall.

Treasurer—E. F. Wood.

Curator and Librarian—W. C. Mills.

The Executive Committee chosen was as follows:

Messrs. Bareis, Buck, Harper, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, Thompson (H. A.), Wood and Wright.

The matter of compensation for the salaried officers of the Society was left to the subsequent action of the Executive Committee, with power to act.

Subsequently President Wright announced the following standing committees for the ensuing year:

FORT ANCIENT: Prince, Bareis and Bowers.

MUSEUM AND LIBRARY: Wright, Schaus and Buck.

FINANCE: Wood, Ryan and Bareis.

PUBLICATIONS: Ryan, Randall and Wood.

SERPENT MOUND: Mills, Harper and Randall.

BIG BOTTOM PARK: Martzolff, Bareis and Roof.

SPIEGEL GROVE: Hayes, Ryan and Wright.

LOGAN ELM PARK: Mrs. Howard Jones, Randall and Roof.

REVISING THE CONSTITUTION: Ryan, Hayes, Bareis, Randall and Prince.

NECROLOGY: Bareis, Mills and Gallup.

The Building Committee is to remain as previously appointed, i. e.

BUILDING COMMITTEE (Columbus Building): Wright, Bareis, Schaus, Mills, Ryan, Wood and Randall. Governor Harmon, ex-officio.

BUILDING COMMITTEE (Spiegel Grove): Schaus, Hayes, Wright, Bareis and Mills.

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On September 24, 1912, Governor Judson Harmon appointed as members of the Board of Trustees of the Ohio State Archaeological & Historical Society, the Hon. John W. Harper, of Cincinnati, and the Hon. J. W. Yeagley, of New Philadelphia, both to serve until February, 1915. Colonel Harper was reappointed and Judge Yeagley was appointed to succeed the Rev. N. B. C. Love, whose term expired in February, 1912.

## EDITORIALANA.

VOL XXI. No. 4.

*E.O. Randall*

OCTOBER, 1912.

### INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS.

A convention of the International Society of Archaeologists was held at Cincinnati on September 29th, 1912. The meeting had been called as a semi-official gathering, but the large attendance and enthusiastic sessions resulted in its being voted an official convention—the first of the organization.

The sessions were held at Art Museum, arrangements for this privilege having been made by Mr. Philip Hinkle, curator of that institution. After the adjournment of the meeting, an inspection of the archaeological and other exhibits of the museum was made by the delegates and visitors, under the personal guidance of Mr. Hinkle.

A feature of the convention was an address by Dr. William C. Mills, curator of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society's Museum at Columbus. Dr. Mills spoke interestingly on several phases of his explorations in the Ohio field and emphasized the importance of attention to detail in archaeological research. Other speakers were Mr. David B. Emert, Dawson, Ohio, first president of the society; Mr. Allen J. Reynolds, Madison, Ind., its secretary and editor of the official organ, *The Archaeological Bulletin*; Mr. F. P. Thompson, Dayton, Ohio; Prof. F. W. Gottlieb, Morristown, Ind., and Mr. W. L. Griffin, Somerset, Ky.

The principal business of the convention was the discussion of ways and means for broadening the society and its usefulness. Steps were taken for incorporating the body to enable it more forcibly to pursue the exposure and elimination of counterfeiters of archaeological specimens.

The society was formed some three years ago with the avowed objects of exposing fraudulent dealers, to encourage the preservation of mounds and earthworks, and to curb the mercenary spirit among collectors by encouraging the study of archaeological material from a scientific standpoint. The society now has about 500 members.

W. L. Griffin of Somerset, Ky., was named as permanent chairman, and H. C. Shetrone, Columbus, Ohio, as permanent secretary of the convention when the meeting was declared an official convention. Mr. J. A. Jeancon, Colorado Springs, Colo., is president of the society, and Mr. Allen Jesse Reynolds, Madison, Ind., secretary and editor. Several side trips were made by visiting members to nearby points of

archæological interest, including the two serpent effigies of southern Ohio. Mr. Mills extended the society an invitation to attend the second annual conference of the Society of American Indians, held in Columbus.

### THE INDIAN CONFERENCE.

The historic Indian of Ohio, in the days of his contest against the invasion of the Whites, often dreamed of organization for the protection of his race and confederations were formed by Pontiac, Corn-stalk, Little Turtle, and the last and greatest by Tecumseh, the famous Ohio Shawnee chief. It was just a century ago that he gave up his life in the battle of the Thames fighting for the rights of his race. To-day the Indian population of this country, numbering some three hundred thousand, is mostly confined to the governmental reservations of the West. They are the wards of the nation, treated more like children than citizens and deprived of the right of voice in the government. Their wrongs are many, and again they are attempting to form a tribal alliance, through which organization they can influence the government at Washington to bestow upon them greater advantages and protect them in many wrongs.

The condition of the American Indian particularly attracted the attention and aroused the sympathy of Professor F. A. McKenzie, of the Ohio State University, and some two years ago he began a correspondence with a number of representatives of American Indians. The result of that preliminary correspondence was the gathering at Columbus, in the first week of April, 1911, of six distinguished Indians, *viz.*: Dr. Charles A. Eastman, Dr. Carlos Montezuma, Thomas L. Sloan, Hon. Charles E. Dagenett, Miss Laura M. Cornelius, and Standing Bear. As the result of this first camp fire, an invitation was issued to the various western tribes, inviting their representatives to meet in Columbus, October 12th to 17th, 1911. The signers of that invitation were: W. O. Thompson, President, O. S. U.; George S. Marshall, Mayor of Columbus; Charles J. Pretzman, President Chamber of Commerce; Joseph Taylor Britan, President Columbus Ministerial Ass'n; H. M. Blair, Secretary Y. M. C. A.; E. O. Randall, Secretary State Archæological and Historical Society; and J. M. Henderson, President Columbus Federation of Labor. The conference was duly held, and was a gratifying success in every way. The second Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians will be held in Columbus, October 2d to 7th, 1912, a report of which will appear in one of the subsequent numbers of the Society's Quarterly.

Concerning this movement and its conception, we reprint from the Kit-Kat Club Magazine, for September, 1912, the following article, written by Professor F. A. McKenzie.

Two leaders of the Indian race, Dr. Charles Eastman and the Rev.

Sherman Coolidge, also leaders in the Society of American Indians, which was organized in Columbus in the year 1911, have reason to be proud of the prophetic vision which led them, many years ago, in the city of Washington to foretell a need and jointly to pledge their devotion to an organization which should gather the representatives of all the tribes, once lords of our domain, to ponder the problems of their race, to demand and secure their rights, and to inspire their fellow Indians to repeat in the new civilization their achievements of the old. Dr. Eastman, in April, 1911, helped to draft the original platform for the Society so long in his dreams, a platform which will remain historic as long as America and the Indian are known. Mr. Coolidge is the President of that Society.

These two men, however, do not stand unmatched. Others here and there, alone and in silence, have also seen and cherished the vision. It is the star of hope which shines for any one who loves the race or who seeks to solve the Indian problem.

In October, 1908, Dr. Eastman, Mr. Coolidge, and Dr. Montezuma, consented to give four lectures in Columbus in connection with a course of study on the Indians at the State University. Those lectures, when heard in Northminster Presbyterian Church, excited a great deal of attention and interest. They proved that two races could be roused to action. Starting with these three men, a correspondence was begun, which gradually extended until more than twenty-five were included in the list of Indians ready to start a Society. An earnest endeavor had been made to make even this small group representative of diverse points of view. It was essential that all Indians should feel an equal right in the organization. After two years of such correspondence, a call was issued for a preliminary meeting in order that a Conference could be brought into existence through the formal action of a body of Indians. So in April, 1911, six Indians, at the Chamber of Commerce, sat for two days in serious consultation, and brought into substantial being the American Indian Association. The brief platform of six planks was hammered out of serious differences, and in the end represented contributions from every one of the six persons present, and was the unanimous choice of the group. The writer does not know of a better piece of composite workmanship. In addition to Dr. Montezuma and Dr. Eastman, this historic group was made up of Miss Laura Cornelius, Mr. Thomas L. Sloan, Mr. Charles E. Dagenett, and Mr. Henry Standing Bear. Mr. Dagenett, the only employee of the Government in the group, was made provisional chairman, and upon him fell the brunt of the executive work which culminated in the Conference of October. No one will ever appraise the prodigious work he accomplished, nor the executive power he threw into the situation. By the authority of this body, too, Mrs. Rosa B. La Flesche was made recording secretary, and she left the government service, came to Columbus in May and became an engine of tireless energy in the interest of the Society. Without her energy and her sanity of judgment,

the Conference probably could not have been held last year. Miss Cornelius as secretary invited the Executive Committee to meet late in June at her home in northern Wisconsin, and, under the generous hospitality of herself and her family, the program for the Conference was drafted. The letters asking for active and associate memberships were also drawn up there and on the train which brought the committee back to Chicago.

Now the campaign was on, and the work and the troubles began. All good things cost trouble and work, but the costs should be forgotten so far as possible. One very serious loss was suffered during the summer. Dr. Montezuma withdrew from the Society. There is a great suspicion of the government in many Indian circles. Dr. Montezuma's consuming desire was to make the Indian free. If the Society were to work to that end, it must be independent. Rumors spread over the country that the government was secretly controlling the Society. It was even gravely asserted by outside people that the government would have paid spies at the Conference. So the suspicions and rumors grew until Dr. Montezuma felt obliged to withdraw. As the Society continues to demonstrate its complete independence, it is hoped he, one of the founders of the movement, will feel able to return. The Society is free and it includes all honest differences of opinion.

At last on the anniversary of the discovery of America, the Conference was opened to prove the army of pessimists mistaken and to justify the faith and works of the optimists. Space will not allow of any summary here of the proceedings of this first national gathering of American Indians. That may be found in the report of the Conference, a splendid duodecimo volume of 183 pages. Suffice it to say that nationally and locally the Conference was counted a distinct success. True it is, of course, that differences developed when attention turned to organization, and those differences, based upon honest opposing points of view, continued after the Conference closed, and resulted in January in a change of principal officers. The persistent fear of government control led Mr. Dagenett to sacrifice the well-earned distinction of Executive Secretary. At the same time Mr. Sloan made an equal sacrifice of the position of chairman. Both men continue to be powers in the Society, which was extremely fortunate in finding Mr. Parker and Mr. Coolidge, men who could fill the two positions to the satisfaction of the entire membership. Harmony reigns. If the Society shall now be given the moral and financial support which it deserves it will do a great work for the Indian race and the American nation.

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#### JAMES HOUSE ANDERSON.

Judge James House Anderson died in the City of Columbus, June 27, 1912. He had been an invalid for some years, being confined to his residence, but his mind remained alert to the end. He was a man

of great vigor of character and strength of intellect, and his life was one of unusual activity and accomplishment. We glean the main facts of his career from a volume entitled, "The Life and Letters of Judge Thomas J. Anderson and Wife," edited and annotated by James H. Anderson.

James House Anderson, son of Judge Thomas Jefferson and Nancy Dunlevy Anderson, was born in Marion, March 16, 1833. He was educated in the district and select schools of the town, in the Marion Academy, and at the Ohio Wesleyan University. He studied law under Ozias Bowen, (subsequently Supreme Judge), and Bradford R. Durfee, graduated from the law department of the Cincinnati College in the spring of 1854, receiving the degree of LL. B., and immediately began the practice of his profession in his native place. He was a delegate to the first Republican State Convention in Ohio, held July 13, 1855, in Columbus. In April, 1855, he was elected mayor of Marion, and in the October following, prosecuting attorney of the county. In the trial of causes he was indefatigable, at times eloquent, and usually successful.

On November 27, 1856, he was united in marriage to Miss Princess A. Miller, the youngest daughter of David Miller, a pioneer of prominence in Marion and Wyandot counties, whose nephew Rear Admiral Joseph N. Miller, U. S. N., (born in Springfield, Ohio), represented the U. S. Navy, by appointment of the President at the Queen's Jubilee in London in 1897. In 1859, Mr. Anderson was a candidate for the State Senate, in the district composed of Marion, Logan, Union and Hardin counties, and came within one vote of receiving the nomination. In March, 1861, he was appointed by President Lincoln, United States Consul at Hamburg, one of the most important commercial cities in Europe, and with his family at once embarked for the scene of his duties. During the Civil War, Hamburg became a rendezvous for privateers, and blockade-runners, where they received their outfit and supplies, and the necessary espionage of these vessels, their lawless owners and officers, demanded sleepless vigilance. Consul Anderson performed his arduous duties most efficiently, as is evidenced by the number of commendatory letters received by him from the governmental officials of the United States during that time of crisis.

While in Hamburg, Mr. Anderson was notified that he had been elected a member of the American Geographical and Statistical Society, and subsequently he was elected a corresponding member of the American Institute, which latter institution he represented as a delegate, in May 1863, at the Great International Agricultural Exhibition at Hamburg. In August, 1866, becoming weary of official life abroad and longing for his native land, resigned his consulship and returned home.

Devoted as Mr. Anderson had been to President Lincoln throughout the war period, and despite his strong attachment to the Republican party, he could not conscientiously withhold his approval of the Souther-

policy of President Johnson, and in 1866 he was sent as a delegate from the Eighth Congressional District of Ohio, to the National Union Convention at Philadelphia. In 1866, President Johnson tendered him an appointment as Chief Justice of Montana Territory, which he declined, not wishing to leave home again, but accepted the office of Collector of Internal Revenue, of the Eighth Congressional District of Ohio. In 1874, he moved from his home at Upper Sandusky, having moved there from Marion, to Columbus, the place of his residence until his death.

In 1878 he was appointed by Governor Bishop Trustee of the Ohio State University and for seven years was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Anderson took a deep interest and an active part in the proceedings of the patriotic and other organizations of which he was a member. At the National Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution, held in May, 1899, in Detroit, he was elected Vice President General of the National Society. He was a delegate from the Ohio Society to the National Congress, S. A. R., at Morristown, N. J., in May, 1898; at Detroit, in May, 1899; at New York City, in May, 1900, and at Pittsburg, in May, 1901.

He was one of the earliest life members of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and almost from the time of its organization (1885) to the time of his decease, took a most active and interested part in its proceedings. He frequently participated at public functions under the auspices of this Society, spoke at many of its important meetings and was the author of several of the most valuable and instructive contributions to the publications of the Society. Mr. Anderson was a most painstaking and diligent student of history, and his articles possessed the rare value of great accuracy and detail. He was, moreover, a man of fine culture and most scholarly accomplishments, giving his productions finished literary form and phraseology.

In May, 1899, he was elected a Trustee of this Society, which position he continued to hold for three terms ending in 1908. Judge Anderson was also a member of order of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, the Ohio State Bar Association, American Bar Association, and president during the year 1902 of the Old Northwest Genealogical Society.

Judge Anderson is survived by his wife, Princess A. Anderson, two sons, Lieutenant James T. Anderson, U. S. A., Charles F. Anderson, Paducah, Ky., and a daughter, Mary Princess Anderson—now Mrs. Edward Orton, Jr.

## ZACHARIAH T. SMITH.

[The following article is the expression of respect to the memory of Z. T. Smith by J. L. Lewis and published in an Upper Sandusky newspaper. Mr. Smith was for many years a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and was potently interested in securing the proper legislation for the appropriation for the erection of a building for the Society's Museum and Library.]

It has oft been said that, "Tis not all of life to live; nor all of death to die." And while many of us think little of this statement, yet in fact, it is the real measure of our earthly existence. To live either in the higher or lower type of animal life, is to eat and breathe and sleep; to give to the organs of the body nourishment and strength and rest; and so long as this can be done, we live. And in thus living only, we do no more than the lower animals.

But we learn from that oldest of books, that in the later days of creation, after all else was finished, God made man in his own image, breathed into him the breath of life and gave him a duty to perform. Hence 'tis not all of life to live. And we as human beings should not take from the world its food and air, our sustenance, and give nothing in return.

We owe to our Creator, our fellowman, to ourselves and to our surroundings, more than to simply exist. All nature says to us, "Come into my store-house and solve my mysteries." The soil says, "Study my ingredients and there shall be a seed-time and a harvest;" the mountains say, "In our depths are the products of ages, knock and it shall be opened unto you;" the mighty ocean says, "On my bosom I will carry the commerce of the world, bring it unto me;" the rushing torrent says, "I will not always destroy, but if guided aright, I will turn the wheels of industry;" the babbling brook says, "I will water the hill-side and the valley and the sunshine shall bring forth fruit and flowers that will surround and beautify the home of man and the fragrance thereof shall be his." So man, who may be the crowning glory of creation, will be its greatest failure, unless he responds to the invitation that on every side bids him to put forth effort and "ask, that he may receive."

The good of the world today is measured by the efforts of men—not every one, perhaps—but those who have striven to perform the duties assigned by him in whose image we are created.

All can not do the same. It was not so intended; but each, in his way, can, if he will, do some part. And of those who have lived in this community, we find in the life of Z. T. Smith of Pitt Township, Wyandot County, Ohio, a most representative example of willingness and work and a life that is well worthy of imitation.

Born and reared upon a farm, in his boyhood days, he did not have

the present school advantages, but habits of industry and determination helped him to gain knowledge that may be found in other ways outside of the school room, and in his mature years he grew to be one of the best generally informed men in this part of the state and was considered authority on many of the leading scientific and historical subjects of the day, and especially was this true as to the lives and habits of the early people of this and other nations.

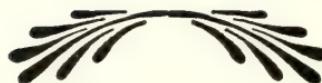
He was a most patient and thorough student of nature, having few equals and no superior in that line; was one of the early members of the Archaeological and Historical Society of Ohio, and after years of research, has secured the most valuable specimens in the state, having hundreds of kinds of wood from the different countries of the world, metals, rock, grasses, flowers and birds.

He was not a theorist, but a plain, unassuming, practical student and one of the few men whose real knowledge was far in excess of what he professed to know, and when asked by a friend how he had, without special advantages, secured so much valuable information, modestly replied that in early life he formed the habit of staying at home nights and the time thus gained, in addition to rainy days, had given him the opportunity. Thus while some live only, he has proven that 'tis not all of life to live. And it is unfortunate that he did not become associated with some leading institution of learning, and thus give to the world more of the rare jewels of information he possessed, for like Lincoln he knew much that colleges do not teach. Naturally enough, he loved the forest, and with its depths, by intermingling of genius and industry, he builded for himself and loved ones a most beautiful home, where, surrounded by waving branches, singing birds and the rippling waters of the nearby river, he communed with nature, and studied the beauties of flowers and trees and plants. The birds were his companions and he watched their coming and going, as he did the visits and departure of his friends. He was an expert in the growing of berries, fruits, trees and farm crops, and authority as judge of thoroughbred cattle, hogs, sheep and chickens, all of which he raised on his farm. He was a most valuable member of the Wyandot County Agricultural Society, a president, and in other positions, and was statistician for the state society at Columbus and the department of agriculture at Washington. He was greatly interested in the schools in his vicinity, and, in remembrance of his friendship to the Harpster village school, the scholars thereof placed upon his casket a spray of flowers he loved so well, and which were emblematical of the purity of his life. And not only was Z. T. Smith a most desirable and interesting companion, but he was a public spirited citizen as well, and in addition to his otherwise busy life, as member of school-board, trustee, justice, land appraiser and in other ways for many years, and in a most satisfactory manner, he gave his time and talents to public good. And the higher offices of our state and nation

have been filled by men of less ability and less honesty of purpose than had he. As an official, he was wise in judgment, firm in conviction, prudent in policy; as a citizen he was the most desirable kind; a respected neighbor, and dutiful son, a devoted husband, a kind father, and his death will not only be an irreparable loss to mother, wife, son and daughter, but also to friends and community. He builded better than he thought, and his life and life's work stand an honor to his family, a valuable lesson to the public and an example of what others may do by industry and application.

Well may it be written on his monument, "Here lies an honest man, one of nature's uncrowned kings, who gave to the world more than he took from it, and who was loved, respected and trusted most by those who knew him best."

Zachariah T. Smith, born in Wyandot county, Ohio, September 10, 1851, died April 4, 1912, was married to Miss Sarah E. McClain October 5, 1875. Two children were born to this union, Jeannette, born August 11, 1876, and Paul, born November 8, 1880. The father of Zachariah T. Smith was David Smith (deceased), born in Wyandot county, March 9, 1820, was united in marriage to Miss Rebecca Blackburn, a resident of West Moreland county, Pa. She was born June 5, 1829.





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